

A THIRD PARTY



NOW

Martha Burk page 16

or

never

James Weinstein page 17





Indonesian officials claim only 19 people were killed, but Amnesty International believes that as many as 200 people may have died. Under questioning from reporters, Brigadier Gen. Rudolf Warouw, the Indonesian military commander in East Timor, admitted that his troops fired on the unarmed mourners for 10 minutes. Asked whether the barrage was excessive, Warouw said, "No, I don't think it was too long a time."

Gen. Try Sutrisno, the commander of Indonesia's armed forces, was equally unrepentant. "Delinquents like these agitators have to be shot, and we will shoot them," he was quoted as saying in an army newspaper.

The November killings in East Timor are a grim reminder of the brutality and repression that have marked the 26-year reign of Indonesian President Suharto. The army has also been heavy-handed in Irian Jaya, which adjoins Papua New Guinea, and Aceh, the northwest tip of Sumatra, both areas that have resisted Javanese rule.

Yet the government of President Suharto continues to receive an average of \$150 million a year in U.S. economic and military aid. The Australian Defence Force conducts training exercises with the Indonesian army, and trade between the two countries is growing.

Down under East Timor's blood and oil

By Eric Nelson

CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA

As they head into a hot, dry summer, Australians are sweating just a little more over events in East Timor, the illegally annexed Indonesian province some 500 miles north of Darwin. Although Australia is facing high unemployment and a severe recession, a sticky matter of blood, oil and political conscience is also plaguing the public here.

The November 12 killing of up to 200 East Timorese funeral-goers has sparked public protest throughout Australia. The reaction of the Australian government, however, has been subdued.

Initially, Prime Minister Bob Hawke downplayed the incident, calling for a "dinkum" (fair) investigation by Indonesian authorities. When reports appeared of a second massacre on November 15 of 60 to 80 more East Timorese, Hawke again declined to issue a strong denunciation. Asked what action he would take if reports of the second massacre were confirmed, Hawke snarled, "Don't ask me hypothetical questions."

The roots of Hawke's complacency lie just beneath the ocean floor that separates Australia from the island of Timor.

Oil and water: Between Timor and the Australian continent lies the Timor "Gap," one of the world's 25 richest oil deposits. Its reserves are estimated at between 1 billion and 6 billion barrels. A nearby oil field in Australian

waters contains 125 million barrels and already accounts for 10 percent of Australia's oil production.

Back in the early '70s, when East Timor was still a Portuguese colony, negotiations between Lisbon and Canberra over their seabed boundary broke down when the two sides failed to agree on a division of the gap. But in 1975, as Portugal withdrew from East Timor, Indonesia invaded and Australian officials saw an opportunity to gain a large portion of the seabed.

As early as December 1975, the month of Indonesia's invasion, the Australian embassy in Jakarta recommended "a pragmatic rather than a principled approach" to negotiating with Indonesia over the "Timor Gap," according to one cable.

In 1989, after 10 years of negotiation, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans signed a treaty with Indonesia that he termed a "victory for pragmatism." In a crass display of diplomatic showmanship, Evans signed the treaty with his Indonesian counterpart in an airplane over the disputed waters. Last year, both the Indonesian and Australian parliaments ratified the treaty.

The treaty carves up an oil-rich, 60,000-square-mile area awarded to East Timor under the 1982 United Nations Law of the Sea Convention. Proceeds from oil development in some sectors of the zone will be shared between Indonesia and Australia. And despite the continuing unrest in East Timor, exploration contracts are now being signed by more than a dozen Australian and multinational oil companies.

Invasive presence: Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975—declaring the territory its 27th province in 1976—the island of 700,000 has lost 200,000 people to war and famine. The Indonesian government has shipped Moslem settlers to the predominantly Christian territory and the Indonesian army has pressed a brutal counterinsurgency campaign against the East Timorese independence group Fretilin, which has continued its dogged resistance with minimal international support.

The current round of violence in East Timor followed the last-minute cancellation of an October visit by a fact-finding delegation of Portuguese parliamentarians and United Nations representatives. Indonesian authorities claimed that Australian journalist Jill Jolliffe, who was to accompany the delegation, was a Fretilin "crusader." The delegation cancelled the trip rather than succumb to Indonesian pressure to leave Jolliffe behind.

In late October, during demonstrations against the delegation's cancellation, Indonesian soldiers killed Sebastiao Rangel, an East Timorese student protester. On November 12, 3,000 mourners gathered in a cemetery near East Timor's capital of Dili to attend Rangel's funeral. While the funeral-goers peacefully marched through the cemetery, Indonesian troops opened fire, apparently killing hundreds of the men, women and children in the procession.

INSIDE STORY

Professor Michael McKinley, a political scientist at the Australian National University, says Australia maintains its relationship with Jakarta by "lobotomizing [from memory] things that Indonesia has done."

McKinley notes the complicity of the U.S. and Australia in the death of up to 1 million Indonesians, who were killed or starved to death following the 1965 installation of Suharto, now Asia's longest-reigning dictator.

East Timor's oil, mixed with Australia's palpable fear of Indonesia's 180 million people—there are only 17 million Aussies—provided the powerful incentive for Australia to negotiate the controversial Timor Gap treaty with Suharto.

Even Foreign Minister Evans has acknowledged that the treaty most likely violates East Timorese sovereignty. Defending the accord in Parliament in 1989, Evans said, "We have taken the view since 1979 that whatever the unhappy circumstances and, indeed, possible illegality surrounding Indonesia's acquisition of East Timor in the '70s, Indonesian sovereignty over the territory should be accepted not only on a *de facto* basis but on a *de jure* basis."

Disregarding rights: In response to the treaty, Portugal—which declared a day of mourning for the protesters murdered in Dili—has lodged a case against Australia in the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

The Portuguese argue that the treaty disregards "the rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination, to territorial integrity and unity and to permanent sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources."

Portugal also charges that Australia's signing of the treaty contravenes the two U.N. Security Council resolutions condemning Indonesia's invasion and annexation of East Timor.

Many Australians find it ironic that their country took a leading role in brokering the recent peace accord in Cambodia—for which Evans has received a Nobel Peace Prize nomination—yet has remained inflexible over East Timor.

Last month, Sen. Josephine Vallentine, an independent from western Australia, urged Hawke's government to do more. "[Just] as [Foreign Minister] Evans went in to bat on the Cambodian issue ... we should be pushing hard in the United Nations for this issue to be put on the agenda," Vallentine said in the Australian Senate. "The wrong that was committed in 1975 can be corrected. It should not be compounded by continuing with recognition [of Indonesian sovereignty]."

Eric Nelson has written on Australia for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and other publications.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Blood and oil in East Timor	2
Russia and the commonwealth denominator	3
The First Stone/In Person	4
In Short	6
A razorback's edge: presidential candidate Bill Clinton	7
Northern Ireland's police state of mind	9
Special section on the Bill of Rights	11
Editorial	14
Letters	15
Dialogue: Third party time	16
Party pooper	17
In Print: P.J. O'Rourke's empire of laughs	18
African-American neocon jobs	19
From cat, a tonic, to catatonic	20
In the Arts: Stalin's stand-in bows out	21
Media Beat by Pat Aufderheide	21
Classifieds	23
More ideologue rolling in our times	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week of September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 16, No. 5) published Dec. 18, 1991, for newsstand sales Dec. 18-24, 1991.

By Walter Ruby

MOSCOW

AFTER A TERRIBLE MONTH OR TWO IN WHICH everything seemed to be coming apart, Russia appears to believe in itself again. By driving a stake through the heart of the slowly expiring Soviet Union and creating—together with the Ukraine and Byelorussia—a commonwealth of independent states with one army and common economic space, Boris Yeltsin has recaptured the popular imagination. He has given Russians hope, for the first time in months, that they have a government with the ability to control events.

That ephemeral feeling of empowerment, of the ability to make a better future than the miserable present, has been almost unknown in this vast suffering country since the '30s, when Josef Stalin murdered the old Bolsheviks and their dream of an egalitarian society. But it flared up spectacularly and unforgettably last August, when the tens of thousands protected the Russian White House with their bodies against the tanks of a military coup.

That giddy sense of hope soon faded, however. As food lines grew ever longer, Yeltsin and his brain trust seemed no better able than Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov to ensure the supply of food and consumer goods, or control a frightening and constantly escalating inflation.

Chaos knocks: Meanwhile, nationalist disintegration began to affect Russia itself as tiny Caucasus Mountain enclave Chechen-Ingushetia declared itself independent of Russia and vowed to wage a jihad if Yeltsin tried to stop it.

As the situation deteriorated, neofascists, old Communists and Russian nationalists, who had been in virtual hiding since the collapse of the coup, began to poke their heads up again, loudly demanding that a state of emergency be declared. They insisted that the army take over to prevent Yeltsin and his "criminal" clique from allowing persecution of Russians in other republics and to prevent the Russian leadership from selling natural resources at dirt-cheap prices to the capitalist West.

Yeltsin continued to give at least lip service to Gorbachov's efforts to win ratification of his long-delayed Union Treaty, which would have recast the Soviet Union as a confederation of sovereign states with a weakened but still substantial "center" in the Kremlin. Yeltsin's support for the Union Treaty presumably stemmed from his fear that the complete breakdown of links would lead to economic chaos and possibly even military conflict between the republics—three of which, in addition to Russia, are armed with nuclear missiles.

The overwhelming Ukrainian vote for independence on December 1—with 90 percent of the total population and a majority of the republic's sizable Russian minority opting for a complete break with the union—put an end to Gorbachov's last desperate attempts to preserve some form of union.

Showing remarkable political agility, Yeltsin quickly reversed his support for the confederation and rejected the counsel of advisers who urged him to force the Ukraine back into line by demanding the reversion to Russia of Russian-speaking Eastern Ukraine and the Crimea.

Yeltsin announced that Russia would no longer play the role of "Big Brother" and lean

Yeltsin and company find commonwealth denominator

on the smaller republics. He said he was determined not to follow the destructive lead of Serbia, whose attempted reconquest of the secessionist republics of Croatia and Slovenia has devastated Yugoslavia. Two days after the Ukrainian vote, Yeltsin joined the presidents of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in Minsk to forge the historic commonwealth agreement.

The Russian president was determined to include the Ukraine in any agreement since a confederation without it would have left Russia in near parity with the Moslem republics of Central Asia, with their rapidly growing populations.

Turning West: Yeltsin's ardently pro-Western team of advisers have an abiding distaste for the Central Asian republics, which they regard in almost racist fashion as the primitive and anti-democratic successors to Genghis Khan. This bias helps explain the exclusion of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev from the Minsk conference. Nazarbayev was deeply offended by the snub and at last report was meeting with leaders of the other Central Asian republics about forming a rival commonwealth.

Seeing the folly of this course, Yeltsin then attempted to court Nazarbayev and the other Central Asian leaders into the new commonwealth. The Russian leader stressed that, contrary to first reports, the Minsk agreement was not meant to establish a specifically Slavic commonwealth but was open to all the original Soviet republics and to people of all nationalities.

As *In These Times* went to press, the odds were that Nazarbayev and most of the other Central Asian leaders would end up joining the "Slavic" commonwealth. They would do so for the same reason they supported continuation of the union—without the connection to European Russia, Central Asia would likely be even poorer and more isolated than it is now.

Except for this important misstep, the Minsk agreement hammered out by Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and the chairman of the Byelorussian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich seemed at first glance a squaring of the circle. It eliminated the "center" that republican governments found so noxious, while preserving most of the key advantages promised in Gorbachov's aborted union.

The accord promised that the three absolutely independent states would nevertheless share a common economic space, have a common currency, maintain open borders and coordinate common systems of transportation and communication. They would have a common foreign policy, including a common seat on the U.N. Security Council. Most importantly, they would maintain a "unified military-strategic space" with joint control of nuclear weapons.

Yeltsin was also quick to promise the Russian people that the commonwealth agreement would lead to a removing of unofficial but very real economic barriers that have been preventing the importation of Ukrainian wheat and foodstuffs to a hard-pressed

Moscow. This had, in turn, led Russia to halt the delivery of oil and gas products to the Ukraine.

Yeltsin agreed to postpone his government's scheduled lifting of price controls in Russia from December 16 to January 2, in order to take that step in coordination with the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Prominent Soviet economists were quoted last week as saying that the commonwealth agreement offers the first real hope that the economic free-fall besetting the country can be reversed. But Russian nationalists and the rapidly vanishing breed of Soviet loyalists excoriated Yeltsin for selling out to the Ukraine. These critics predicted that without a central government to enforce the agreement, the Ukrainians would quickly renege and create their own military structures. On the other side, Ukrainian nationalists accused Kravchuk of betraying his own commitments to complete Ukrainian separation from the union.

The Ukrainian parliament, while ratifying the Minsk agreement, passed provisos calling for a Ukrainian army and the establishment of customs barriers on the Ukraine's frontiers. These moves ran directly counter to the agreement. But Yeltsin brushed this off, saying the Ukrainian amendments were purely "editorial" changes.

Gorbachov's last stand? With his political life on the line, an infuriated Mikhail Gorbachov condemned the Minsk agreement as undemocratic and unconstitutional and called for a special Congress of Peoples' Deputies to consider the issue. He had a point about the cavalier way the three Slavic presidents had treated the Soviet Constitution, and apparently hoped to rally in defense of the union the reviving remnants of the authoritarian right wing, the military-industrial complex and the army, as well as broad sections of the public.

But as this reporter found out in street interviews last week, Moscovites overwhelmingly supported the commonwealth

The Minsk agreement, Yeltsin said, "has stopped the disintegration of the country. The USSR has ceased to exist. ... The union can no longer play a useful role. There is absolutely no money in the bank. We can't close our eyes to it and live in the world of illusion."

agreement. Book salesman Andrei Alexandrov's comment was typical: "I had been dreaming of such a Slavonic confederation since I read [novelist Aleksandr] Solzhenitsyn's article last year urging that the three Slavic republics unite in a single state. I like the idea that each of the three republics will be free and independent, but we'll all work together. I am optimistic for the first time that there will soon be more food in our stores."

Alexandrov added, "Gorbachov is absolutely finished, and it is time he understood it. But my greatest happiness is that this terrible Soviet Union, which murdered tens of millions and soiled my life and that of so many others, is finally consigned to history."

Early last week, Nikolai Travkin, a once-fervid democrat who recently moved right and is now an ardent defender of the union, called a mass rally in the center of Moscow to protest the Minsk agreement. Less than 1,000 people showed up, and many of them were pro-Yeltsin hecklers. The far right groups were equally unsuccessful in rallying mass support.

Gorbachov's last hope clearly lay with the army, and, shortly after the agreement was signed, he went to military headquarters to appeal to the top brass. Yeltsin made the same pilgrimage a day later. Both leaders apparently made the same pitch: a common military command would be maintained, defense spending would continue and social security for military families and soldiers being brought back from Germany would be expanded.

But the high command was well aware of which way the political wind was blowing and was not about to go down with Gorbachov. Said one Defense Ministry staff officer: "Gorbachov didn't say anything important. He was just moving his lips as usual."

By contrast, Lt. Gen. Valery Manilov, the Defense Ministry's chief spokesman, said Yeltsin's plan offers "a constructive way out of the current dead-end situation ... toward a defense alliance of independent states, a treaty on collective security and a unified central command."

The center cannot hold: So the outcome was already in the bag when Yeltsin appeared before the Russian parliament to argue for the commonwealth agreement. He noted that after the tortured year-long efforts to negotiate a union treaty, it was clear that it would be impossible to hold the republics together—in any form—"if we didn't get rid of the command structures in the center." But not to conclude some agreement, he said, would lead to ever-growing trade barriers between republics that would make economic recovery virtually impossible.

The Minsk agreement, Yeltsin said, "has stopped the disintegration of the country. The USSR has ceased to exist. But I reject the curses of those who say we, alone, liquidated it. The union can no longer play a useful role. There is absolutely no money in the bank. We can't close our eyes to it and live in the world of illusions."

Charges of anti-constitutionalism by Gorbachov and others, he said, were motivated by personal interests. In fact, he added, only the commonwealth could ensure a common economic space and military command. The Minsk agreement was based on the equality of all republics, Yeltsin said, and "should end all speculation that Russia is again trying to become an empire."

Continued on page 10

THE FIRST STONE

By Joel Bleifuss

At war, at home

Less than one year after the first bombs dropped and just after the military parades for the Gulf War victors sounded their last pompous beats, the veterans of Desert Storm have joined some of their fellow veterans back on the streets: homeless and hungry. A study last year by the Federal Interagency Council on the Homeless estimates that one-third of the 1 million homeless in America are veterans. And it's a nationwide phenomenon. According to the council, in Fargo, N.D., 1,187 veterans were homeless in 1990.

The National Coalition for the Homeless now reports that Persian Gulf vets have turned up in homeless shelters in Boston, West Virginia, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. They join the ranks of those men who were drafted into Vietnam—a legion of former U.S. military personnel who comprise 40 to 60 percent of all homeless veterans. They also share the shelters with those who enlisted after Vietnam—those recruits make up an additional 20 to 40 percent of one-time Pentagon employees who are now homeless.

Also in danger of having no home is the Military Families Support Network (MFSN), an organization founded last year to oppose the Gulf War. The group's motto: "Supporting our troops and working for peace." But Military Families' most pressing concern at the moment is trying to raise the money for their \$66,000 annual budget.

There are still about 25,000 U.S. soldiers in the Gulf, a number that only appears small in contrast to the half-million stationed there one year ago. As an act of solidarity with those still deployed in the Gulf, MFSN is sponsoring a January 16 vigil in front of the White House. "The war is not over," says MFSN Director Adelita Medina, who led the group's Manhattan chapter. "Look at the Iraqis who are still suffering and look at our troops and how they are all suffering."

Shades of Agent Orange: MFSN is particularly concerned with the medical side effects of experimental drugs the government administered to the Gulf troops. During the war Dick Cheney's Defense Department was given a Food and Drug Administration (FDA) waiver from Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan. This waiver allowed Pentagon doctors to administer experimental drugs to soldiers who were in or threatened by actual combat. The waiver permitted and then the courts upheld the government's plan to force the drugs on soldiers without informing them of the risks and without obtaining the soldiers' consent. Three of the drugs administered included: a vaccine against Botulinum toxin, a pretreatment drug to lessen the effects of nerve gas and a drug that provided skin protection against mustard gas.

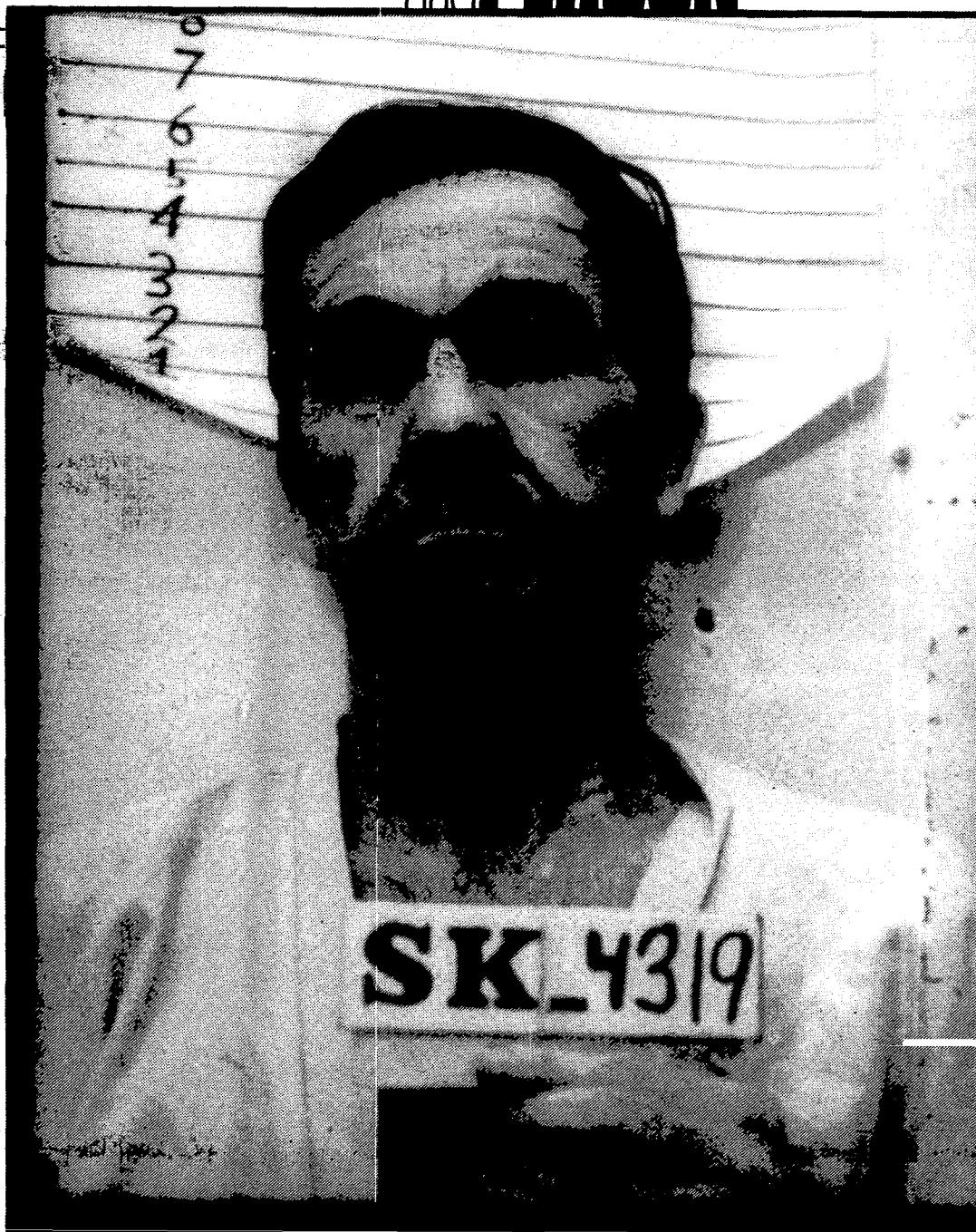
Possible side effects are now being reported. The "Health Alert" in the most recent MFSN quarterly newsletter reads, "MFSN has just received information that at least a dozen military wives who got pregnant after their husbands returned from the Gulf have had miscarriages. When one of the soldiers asked whether his wife's miscarriage could be related to the experimental drugs he took, he was told that the military was 'not allowed to discuss the drugs.'" (In a possibly unrelated move, the Pentagon and the American Association of Bloodbanks announced last month that Persian Gulf War veterans would no longer be allowed to donate to blood banks. The expressed reason for this ban was that some veterans were infected with a disease called leishmaniasis. It is not known how many other veterans may be similarly infected with the parasite, which in some cases can be life-threatening.)

The group is concerned that the Gulf vets will end up like the victims of Agent Orange, discharged into an inadequate health-care system. MFSN wants the government to establish a registry of what drugs were given to which soldiers and to systematically monitor the health of Gulf vets—the majority of whom were in the reserves and consequently have their medical records scattered among thousands of family physicians.

War and money: Since the war officially ended, MFSN has not had much luck in getting money from foundations that traditionally fund peace groups. The group's proposals have netted 16 rejections. The only positive response came from the Veatch Program, which had previously helped the organization that during the war had 130 organizers in 46 states.

"A lot of progressive foundations have just said no, no, no, no," says Medina. "Before and during the war, progressive funders were throwing money at us. They would actually call us and say, 'Do you want money? We have money?' I was kind of surprised and disappointed that these same organizations after the war have turned their backs on us. I've been trying to figure out why. We've always been a unique organization. At the same time we were opposing the war, we were supporting the troops because

IN PERSON



'Pee Wee' Gaskins: at the circus

By Wim Roefs

At almost 1 a.m., the celebration over Donald "Pee Wee" Gaskins' pending death is in full swing. Gaskins is inside the Broad River Correctional Institution in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, living his last few minutes. Outside, more than 300 proponents of the death penalty are in a state of euphoria, eagerly waiting for him "to be fried." They clap, they cheer, they yell, "Kill him! Kill him!" Their signs read "Pee Wee is now a burnt Wee Wee," and "Pee Wee is now toast."

"To have some fun" and "out of curiosity," say the least aggressive party animals when asked why they are here. Others are less subdued. Gaskins has to die, they cry out. "I believe in that eye-for-an-eye crap," says one man, whose breath smells like alcohol.

It isn't the only popular biblical phrase this night in South Carolina. "He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword," the many reporters are constantly being told. And why should they have to spend their tax dollars to keep those murderers alive? It's bad enough they have to pay for the electricity tonight. "They should clean out death row," one man proclaims. "Let's kill them all tonight."

The 58-year-old Gaskins is the 153rd person to be executed in the U.S. since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976. The *New York Times* reported that he is the first white convict in nearly half a century and at least 1,000 executions to die for killing a black person.

Gaskins got the chair for his participation in the 1982 murder of Rudolph Tyner, a fellow death row inmate who he blew up with a made-in-prison bomb.

At that time, he was already doing nine life sentences for the "Prospect murders," a string of killings

in the early '70s in and around South Carolina's Florence County. For those murders, the prosecution had been unable to get a death sentence, but they were later used to justify the verdict in the Tyner case.

The details of Gaskins' conviction are of no concern to his audience outside the prison this early Friday morning, September 6. The fact that, hours before, Gaskins almost managed to spoil their party is. Gaskins always said he would kill himself before the state could execute him. A week before the execution, prison officers had discovered razor blades on him. That didn't stop Gaskins. The morning before the execution, he was found covered in blood underneath his blanket, his wrists cut. With six guards outside his cell, he had almost managed to kill himself.

Medical treatment saved him for the chair, 20 stitches making him fit enough to die. Back in his cell, Gaskins showed the guards his secret. He coughed a few times and produced a single-edged disposable razor blade. He said he could lodge it in his esophagus and retain it at will. He had kept it there for a week, he claimed, which would also explain why he had stopped eating.

Hellbent and bound: The episode contributed to Gaskins' status as a then still-living legend in South Carolina. At the time of the Prospect murders, the state's most notorious serial killer drove around in a hearse with a skull dangling from the rearview mirror.

He had a reputation for cunning and deceit. During one of his early trials in the '60s, he escaped from a courthouse by jumping through a second-floor window. He hid for weeks in the swamps. Police once thought they had him when they heard

the bloodhounds baying. Instead, they found the dogs tied to a tree.

But Gaskins was a simple man who said "knewed" instead of "knew" and wrote "no" when he meant "know." His reputed shrewdness was the savvy of a longtime convict rather than the intelligence of a criminal mastermind. Gaskins had already done 17 years before he was accused of mass murder in 1975. He blamed his long stints in prison for his six failed marriages.

Gaskins' home ground was Prospect, a small farming community 30 miles southeast of the city of Florence, where he had grown up as an illegitimate child. He came from "The Neck," an area notorious among locals for its violence. It was there where Gaskins was said to carry knives and black-jacks to school and where he, at age 13, hit his cousin in the head with an ax and left her for dead. She survived, and Gaskins' long trail through reform schools and prisons began.

Once accused of mass murder, he became a suspect in dozens of killings. He was convicted for nine, confessed to 15, but denied 10 of them at the end of his life. Gaskins knew most of his victims personally. Four of them were 15 or younger, eight were women, some of them former lovers.

Gaskins drowned a pregnant woman and her two-year-old baby because the father of the children was black. He told police he killed two white carnival workers for dating black men. He beat young girls to death, stabbed a woman in the chest and executed people with a bullet in the back of the head. Asked why he stabbed one victim after he had already shot her in the head, Gaskins replied: "Well, I had my knife with me at the time."

Back home in Prospect, Gaskins was not just known to be dangerous. He was also the man friends and neighbors could turn to for help or a place to stay. That, in fact, was what the drowned woman did before he stuck her head in the fish pond behind his house.

Gaskins had his own rigid moral code. He didn't allow drinking or rough talk in front of children and he hated drugs. He served Coca-Cola with acid to a woman he said had provided drugs to two young girls. She died. Before that, he had already killed the girls, one of whom was his niece.

"of a party: Now, on September 6, it all comes to an end. At 11 p.m., the crowd outside the Columbia prison is still outnumbered by police and press.

The lot set aside for opponents of the death penalty will remain empty all night long. Instead, they hold a candlelight vigil in front of the mansion of conservative Republican Gov. Carroll Campbell, a death penalty enthusiast.

Around midnight, about a hundred people have gathered at the prison gate and the deathwatch party really starts. "Barbeque him," some people yell. Alcohol is not permitted, but this is Thursday night, one of Columbia's popular nights out, and leaving the bars for the execution provides a nice change of pace. At a "Pee Wee Party" in a local bar, "Pee Wee hamburgers" are being served. Since Gaskins is only 5-foot-1, the burgers are also small.

Outside the prison, two young men, not quite sober, stare into the cameras with glazed eyes, holding signs that urge Gaskins "to die" and to "go to hell."

Inside, the public enemy is being prepared for the chair. He has left his farewell dinner, a pizza, untouched. At 11:45 p.m., his head and right leg are shaved. Half an hour later, he takes a shower and puts on new prison clothes. Conducting gel is smeared on his shaved head.

Outside, euphoria reaches its first peak. Three students, heads red and swollen from all the excitement, perform a little show in front of the cameras. "Could you do that again?" asks one TV reporter

who missed it. "No problem," he is told. Bystanders laugh and a young man turns to the cameraman. "Are you ready?" He looks at his mates and counts down: "One, two, three." In rap-style, they sing:

*Fry him, fry him, fry him like a chicken;
People of his kind are ripe for the pick'n;
Shave his head and apply the gel;
Pull the lever and send him to hell.*

The crowd goes berserk. "Kill him! Kill him!" they yell. "Another \$40,000 a year saved."

At 1 a.m., they think Gaskins' time has come. While the cameras run, the countdown starts. "Ten. Nine. Eight. Seven. Six. Five. Four. Three. Two. One." Deafening cheers are followed by a now familiar chant: "Kill him, kill him, fry him, fry him."

Cooking for keeps: But Gaskins isn't quite so far along. At 12:58, he is being led into the 8-by-11-foot death house cell. He walks toward the chair. Eight feet away, nine witnesses watch the procedures from behind a window, among them five reporters, who will afterwards share the experience with their audience and the rest of the media. Also present is one of Gaskins' attorneys, Kelly Branham.

Conspicuously absent is Rudolph Tyner's mother, who declined the invitation. She didn't understand why anyone thought she would want to watch Gaskins die. As she told the local paper, "I don't approve of it. I don't believe in the electric chair. The fellow killed my son, but he has parents just like my son did. I know his family hurts just like mine. It's wrong."

In his chair, Gaskins seems to relax when he sees his attorney. He winks at Branham, half smiling. She cries, and he mouths, "It's all right."

Nothing is being said while Gaskins is strapped in the chair. A ground wire is connected to his right leg. His face is covered from the nose down with a piece of leather, which is used to tie his head to the wooden chair. Gaskins gets a metal cap on his head, to which a wire is applied.

He is still staring at Branham when a hand with a towel wipes off his face. He loses all sight when a mask is pulled over his head. That is the moment for Branham to turn around. "He had asked me to be there for him," she told me afterwards, "but I wasn't going to watch the execution itself."

Less than 10 seconds after everybody else has left the room, the witnesses hear a loud click. It is 1:04 a.m. when 2,000 volts and five amps race through Gaskins' body. He jumps up but the straps keep him in place.

The first surge lasts five seconds and is followed by eight seconds of a 1,000 volts and two amps. Two minutes of 250 volts take away any last doubts about the success of the operation.

If all went as planned, the first shock caused Gaskins respiratory paralysis and cardiac arrest. If experts are correct, he must have felt as if he was being burned to death and suffocating, but, his muscles paralyzed by the shock, Gaskins could not cry out.

At 1:06 a.m., his body comes to rest. The doctors officially pronounce him dead at 1:10. Pee Wee Gaskins has been eye-for-an-eyed.

By that time, at the gate, the mob is full of anticipation. "Pee Wee sits in a hot seat," somebody yells. "None too early," somebody else replies. The dance macabre continues as the crowd sings: "Na-na-na-na, na-na-na-na, hey-ey-ey, good-bye." The singsong is spontaneously followed by the chant: "We want the hearse, we want the hearse." When that starts to bore, the fans change their tune: "We want the corpse, we want the corpse."

At 1:25, the crowd is being put out of its misery. Through a bullhorn, a prison official announces: "The sentence of *Donald Gaskins vs. the State of South Carolina* was carried out at 1:10 a.m."

Once again, fists go up in the air and vocal cords are tested. "Burn in hell, burn in hell." □

Wim Roefs is a writer in Columbia, S.C.

they were our loved ones."

Her experience has lead Medina to conclude that "progressive-minded people have a great dislike of the military."

"Now if I were you": Medina recalls being told by two foundation consultants that they would not have allowed their sons to join the military.

"Both people who told me this were somewhat affluent people," says Medina. "Their sons don't need to join the military. I wasn't happy when [my son] Miguel joined the Navy, but I didn't have anything to offer him. I was working three part-time jobs and making \$10,000 a year. I couldn't say, 'I'll pay for your college or I'll find you a job a that wasn't a dead end.' San Miguel County in northern New Mexico [where we lived] is one of the poorest counties in the country. The military has always been an alternative for people there."

"Those who are affluent or have never been poor or have never had a need can't believe that people would look to the military as a positive alternative in their lives. We really need to begin to educate our people not to see our troops as the enemy. It is important that they make a distinction between the Pentagon, the military as an institution, and the people who serve—the enlisted people, the little people. Our troops are kids from the barrios, the ghettos, from the economically depressed areas of the country because our society has nothing to offer young people these days. When they look at the alternatives, there is a dead-end street—selling drugs and prostitution. There is no money for education. There are very few positive alternatives."

Professor Molnar: MFSN founder Alex Molnar, the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee professor and father of a Gulf soldier, believes that in not supporting Military Families, the peace foundations are "missing an important opportunity to involve themselves with a group of people who could really make a difference in this country."

"The peace movement," he continues, "has not been as effective as it says it would like to be at reaching lower middle-class, working-class and poor Americans—the people who tend to serve in the armed forces. This has been the group that has been treated as spare parts by the American economic and political and social establishment. And there are going to be large numbers of these soldiers demobilized over the next several years into a society that is in an economic tailspin. It is exactly people such as these who are going to be addressed by David Duke. And he is interested not in speaking to their very real concerns and problems in a constructive way that rebuilds and reforms this society, but in a destructive way that turns us on each other. And to people like those associated with the Military Families—and David Duke—we offer a positive, constructive and hopeful vision to Duke's vision of suspicion, hostility and division."

Democrablicans: Molnar believes progressive political strategists would do well to couch their proposals on decommissioning the U.S. military in terms that military families can understand. Instead of talking about economic conversion, he says the left should address the well-being of military families by talking about the kinds of social programs that could be funded if less money went to the military.

Molnar proposes that one way to get beyond the budget agreement that separated defense and domestic appropriations is to begin debating the Pentagon's budget. "You could talk about the internal allocation of funds within the Defense Department," says Molnar. "For example, one way to attack Star Wars is to say: We don't have money for Star Wars in the Defense Department budget because we have to spend money to help our military families enter civilian life. That is a better way of ensuring our nation's security than a multibillion-dollar pork-barrel project in the Dakotas. So we are going to take 10 percent of the Defense budget and put that into job training and education benefits for military families."

Molnar is not looking for support for such proposals from the "Democrablican" leadership in Congress, the men he calls a "collection of Republican wannabees." Nor does he have much faith in the progressive, liberal public policy establishment—an establishment alternative that has turned itself "into an arm of the Democratic Party." Such "Democratic apparachiks," according to Molnar, have over-invested in politicians—politicians like early-bird supporter of the Gulf War, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Yet Molnar remains an "optimist." He says, "I think that it is possible to have constructive change in our society because without it we are in for a long cold night."

I'm not sure the logic of Molnar's last statement holds up. An unrelenting chill is cast by a president whose willingness to manipulate public affairs to conform to his will knows no bounds. But there is hope—I guess. Maybe Santa Claus will give Military Families Support Network a second look.

By David Moberg & Miles Harvey

The Teamsters, a democratic union

Insurgent Teamsters presidential candidate Ron Carey defeated both candidates of the old guard leadership in the big union's first direct election of officers by rank-and-file members. Preliminary tallies released last week in the government-supervised election showed Carey winning half of the votes. Vice President R.V. Durham, who had the most delegates at the union's June convention, was running second with about one-third of the votes. "It couldn't be better," said Ken Paff, a Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) organizer, whose 15-year-old organization had laid the groundwork for Carey's victory. Carey, the president of a prominent New York United Parcel Service (UPS) local, had promised to end corruption, promote internal democracy, and aggressively serve members' needs. "It's a big surprise not that we've won but the breadth and depth," Paff continued. "[The established leaders] can't turn their people out" because they had been out of touch with members for so long. As *In These Times* went to press, it appeared that the entire Carey slate of vice-presidential candidates also would win. Carey won in many locals headed by vice-presidential candidates on the other slates, and defeated R.V. Durham in his home state of North Carolina. Longtime TDU leader John Braxton, whom UPS fired for organizing on Carey's behalf (union officials supported his firing), said, "It was a clear mandate that the rank and file were fed up and wanted change."

"Shit" not fit to print

In its December 4 edition, the *New York Times* reported that "a familiar scatological term" had recently appeared for the first time in a network entertainment program. The *Times* noted that the historic FST made its daring debut during CBS' Thanksgiving airing of the movie *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial*. But apparently the *Times* was unwilling to take its own bold first step into colloquiality. The four-letter word in question remained unnamed. Or perhaps the *Times* was simply unable to find out what the word was. CBS officials, contacted by *In These Times*, said they had been instructed not to identify the term. All this reminded *In These Times* of another bizarre omission by America's newspaper of record. It happened in 1987, just weeks before Gary Hart's dalliance with Donna Rice went public. A *Times* story repeated Hart's charge that other Democratic presidential campaigns were "spreading rumors about his personal life"—but the story did not specify the nature of those rumors. When an *In These Times* writer called New York to find out what the rumors were, a *Times* editor declined, saying, "I am not going to be repeating rumors."

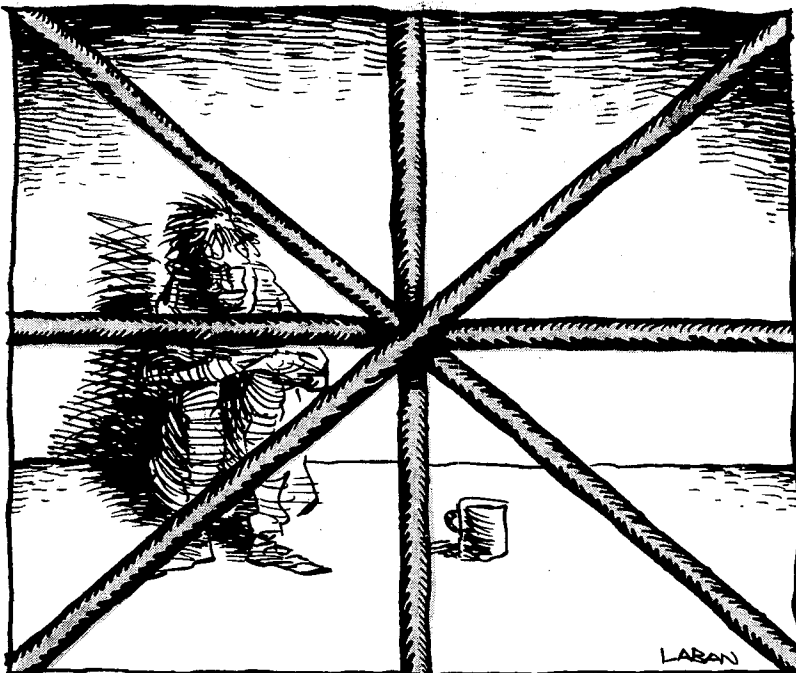
A kidnapping without a kidnapper

Another recent *New York Times* omission is also worth noting. This time the missing word was "Israel." Somehow the *Times* managed to run an entire story on a kidnapped Moslem cleric without directly stating what nation was behind his abduction. The December 10 story began, "The kidnapped Lebanese Shiite Moslem cleric, Sheik Abel Karim Obeid ... called for a prisoner exchange that would allow a missing Israeli navigator ... to go free." Israel also managed to skirt explicit responsibility for the sheik's abduction in the third paragraph, thanks to the timely employment of a passive verb: "Sheik Obied, who was kidnapped from his home in a southern Lebanese village, Jibchit, in 1989..." True, alert readers could infer from the article that Israel was the sheik's kidnapper, but it would take work. The article also failed to mention that Amnesty International has been calling for the cleric's release for the past two years. The *Times* story about Sheik Obied was published on Human Rights Day.

American excess

All who have watched their real earnings shrink—or worse, been forced to endure pay cuts and layoffs—will choke when they read Graef Crystal's new book, *In Search of Excess: the Overcompensation of American Executives* (Norton). In it, Crystal documents the gluttony of the nation's chief executive officers (CEOs) who fattened themselves when most American workers tightened their belts. "In the last 20 years the pay of American workers has stagnated, while American CEOs have increased their own pay more than 400 percent," Crystal writes. At the same time, he notes, American productivity has declined in relation to that of foreign companies—whose CEOs earn substantially less. CEOs in the U.S., according to Crystal, earn 160 times more than the average American worker. Compare that to German CEOs who earn 21 more times than the average German worker and Japanese CEOs who make 16 times more money than their workers.

IN SHORT



British justice system breaks down again

During a month when the media of the Western world went ga-ga over the release of hostages in Lebanon, the case of Winston Silcott, hostage of a corrupt British criminal-justice system, garnered little attention outside his own country.

Last month Silcott was cleared by the British courts of murdering a police officer during a 1985 riot in London's Broadwater Farm Estate, a public housing project. Silcott and two other men had been convicted of knifing Keith Blakelock to death based largely on Silcott's confession, obtained during interrogations in which Silcott did not have legal counsel.

As Silcott's name receded in the memory of the British public, British authorities had refused to re-examine the case, despite the urging of Amnesty International and several American legal experts. But Silcott got new hope two years ago with the resolution of the "Guildford Four" case, which confronted Britain with irrefutable evidence of a deeply flawed criminal-justice system.

The four people involved in the Guildford case had been arrested in 1974 and convicted of planning two Irish Republican Army (IRA) bombings. They each spent more than 14 years in jail. But in 1989, Lord Lane, the lord chief justice of England, cleared them of the charges, saying that the police had lied and manufactured evidence.

Lord Lane was the same man who, a year earlier, had denied Silcott's application for appeal, saying that there were no "lurking doubts" about the prisoner's guilt. But growing public and political pressure after the Guildford Four case—including a British Broadcasting Corporation documentary on Silcott—forced authorities to take another look at the case. What finally helped clear Silcott of the murder charge was the use of

the same technology that earlier this year proved the innocence of another group unfairly convicted of IRA bombings, the "Birmingham Six."

The Birmingham Six, like the Guildford Four, had been imprisoned since 1974. That group was accused of being connected to IRA pub bombings in Birmingham. The Birmingham Six were set free this past March when a new method of detecting indentations on paper was used to prove that police records of interrogations had been tampered with. Investigators used the same technology to examine the police notes of Silcott's interrogations. The results were also the same: Some portions of the notes had been added at a later date.

Given the racial overtones and political significance of the riot in which the policeman died, it is surprising in some ways that Silcott has been cleared even now. The riot had taken on mythical proportions for the tabloid press and conservative politicians. One tabloid story, under the headline of "Kill! Kill! Kill!," blamed the riot on street-fighting experts trained in Moscow and Libya—and on recently arrived busloads of black activists from other parts of Britain. "Some have been lying low under the umbrella of outwardly innocent racial pressure groups in London," the article claimed. One newspaper ran Silcott's picture after the conviction with the headline, "The Face of Evil."

Such bizarre rumors were fueled by outlandish police allegations of Trotskyite agitation behind the riots, and of pools of petrol that had been collected in nearby garages in preparation for just such an event. Conservative politicians bemoaned the breakdown of law and order and scolded the Labor Party for its support of lawless elements.

But the real reasons for the disturbance were much more complex. In the years and months leading up to the Broadwater Farm Estate tragedy, one of several major riots that autumn, critics had complained that the London police force was rife with

racism. Community and police monitoring groups charged that the police targeted young black and Asian youths for harassment and searches. A study commissioned by the force itself documented police racism, saying that in no other group in society were racist slurs used with such abandon. Many black Londoners were further alienated by broad and vaguely defined powers given to the police under former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government.

The London police force, for historic reasons, is accountable to and directed by the national government, not any local body. And during the mid-'80s, the government's appointed police chief was Sir Kenneth Newman, formerly head of the British police force in Northern Ireland. In the wake of the 1981 Brixton riot, some efforts were made to increase police sensitivity and contact with the community. However, the more traditional proponents of "hard" policing tactics were in the ascendancy, and the Thatcher Tories allowed the police a wide berth.

It was not surprising, then, that tensions flared up between youths and the police on London's streets fairly often. Newman implemented a special rapid-deployment force of 500 riot police that could shuttle quickly to any hot spot and disperse a growing crowd. Newman boasted to a British newspaper in 1984 that "during this summer, this year, there were many mini-riots which had the potential to escalate to Brixton 1981 proportions. But they were quickly and effectively extinguished. So effectively, indeed, that they hardly rated a mention in the press."

But the riots a year later indicated that Newman's strategy for keeping a lid on the discontent and anger of poor black youths had failed.

One British activist who worked for a group monitoring police activity during the mid-'80s, says she is pleased for Silcott that he has been cleared. But, she says, she can't "get that excited while there is still no legislation constraining the wide police powers that were adopted during the Thatcher years."

Indeed, one wonders how many other hostages of corrupt police practices are still sitting in British jails. Patrick "Paddy Joe" Hill, a member of the Birmingham Six who campaigned on behalf of Silcott and is now on a U.S. speaking tour, estimates that there are between 300 and 500 innocent people locked up in British jails.

"The concept of justice in England is the greatest and purest in the world," Hill says. "But that's where it begins and ends. The people who run the British system are corrupt, rotten and perverted beyond belief. If you have a black face or an Irish accent, then you're on shaky ground."

—Mark Feinberg

By David Moberg

IN THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF PRESIDENTIAL candidates promising something new, from deals to frontiers, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton is stumping for a "New Covenant."

"We must go beyond the competing ideas of the old political establishment," Clinton argues, in a rebuke aimed not only at Republicans but, presumably, many Democratic colleagues as well. "Beyond every man for himself on the one hand, and the right to something for nothing on the other."

Many liberal Democrats would wince upon hearing their positions caricatured this way, but it captures a popular perception. Yet rather than bash entitlements, rights and government in the overly familiar conservative vein, Clinton advocates more active government to increase opportunities for all Americans. In return, he argues, citizens—from welfare recipients or middle-class college students to corporate executives—must demonstrate responsibility to the broader community.

The DLC connection: Clinton, currently considered a leading contender for the Democratic nomination, is often described as a moderate. Many on the party's liberal/left associate him primarily with the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), which he helped to found and chaired from March 1990 until last August. The DLC faction is usually identified with Southern conservative Democrats who argue that the party should be more supportive of the military, more pro-business, and less concerned about civil rights and the poor.

Originally organized to move the Democrats to the right and combat the influence of Jesse Jackson, the DLC has not been monolithic and has included some liberals. For example, although the DLC is usually a bastion of free-trade sentiment, one of its prominent members and former chairs is Rep. Dick Gephardt (D-MO), an advocate of forceful government intervention for fair trade. Also, although the DLC has generally backed the military and an interventionist foreign policy, one of its leaders, Sam Nunn, was a key



Clinton is picking up support from liberal Democrats—despite his affiliation with the conservative Democratic Leadership Council.

Which side is Bill Clinton on? Neither one, he claims

opponent of Bush's war policy in Iraq.

Despite the DLC baggage, Clinton has drawn many key staff and advisers from the party's liberal/left ranks who believe that Democrats must have a political message

POLITICS

that appeals to the broad, diverse working and middle classes—including wayward traditional Democrats who turned to Reagan and Bush. They argue as well that the poor are best served by universal programs—like Social Security—that also have support from

a solid majority that share the benefits.

"You cannot serve the interests of the poor unless you have a growing, thriving middle class that believes in government," argues Clinton's liberal media consultant, Frank Greer. "That is the mechanism that allows us to serve social justice. The times you could do that were like the '60s. We [Democrats] lost the middle class, and we've slowly lost the ability to help poor people move out of poverty."

Campaign manager David Wilhelm argues that Clinton's message and his Arkansas origins make him the "most electable" of the

current crop of candidates by enabling him to add voters from border states, Texas, downstate regions of states like Ohio and Illinois, and other swing areas.

Good politics: Derek Shearer, public policy professor at Occidental College, Clinton adviser and long-time friend, argues that Clinton's New Covenant is optimal policy as well as good politics.

"You've got to have a strong component of responsibility," contends Shearer, author of *The New Social Contract*. "There should be a work component to everything so people really contribute. That's our view of human nature, but it also makes sense. In the Swedish model they train people for work, not just to stay home. There's a reciprocal responsibility in this new social covenant."

As governor of Arkansas since 1979 (with a hiatus from 1981-82 after losing his first re-election bid), Clinton has made his mark mainly in reforming and improving the state's rotten educational system. But in an otherwise sympathetic account of Clinton as a "classic new paradigm liberal" in his book titled *Laboratories of Democracy*, David Osborne criticizes Clinton's excessive use of tax breaks to encourage business relocation. Osborne also notes that despite his history as a McGovern supporter (and youthful opponent of the war in Vietnam), "Clinton is today closer to business than to organized labor or community organizations."

Although Clinton's 1988 Democratic convention speech nominating Dukakis drew applause mainly when he said, "in conclusion," in his speeches this fall he comes across as a confident, earnest, energetic and intelligent speaker with a touch of folksiness and good humor. He lacks the old-time Democratic religion and populist tycoon-bashing of Sen. Tom Harkin, but there may be enough red meat (or nutritious vegetables) in his message to appease most of the party's lib-

Clinton's agenda: a 'New Covenant' to overcome 'nightmare of irresponsibility'

Here's the heart of the Clinton domestic policy message, condensed and paraphrased (with his own words marked as direct quotations) from his major campaign speeches:

The nation is adrift and the American dream is dying for the middle class after nearly 12 years of Republican refusal to forge national policies on the economy, energy, education and health care. The selfish greed of the past decade, compounded by a failure of Congress under Democratic control, has led the nation to a "nightmare of irresponsibility" in which everyone blames everyone else, but nobody is providing leadership or forging unity for the country as a whole.

"We need a New Covenant, a solemn agreement between the people and their government, to provide opportunity for everybody, inspire responsibility throughout our society, and restore a sense of community to this great nation. A New Covenant to take government back from the powerful interests and the bureaucracy, and give this country back to ordinary people."

"The most irresponsible people in the

'80s were those in business who abused their position at the top of the totem pole. In the private sector, as well as public, debt ballooned for speculation, but there was no long-term investment for the future. Top managers raised their pay at four times the rate of their workers, often jettisoning loyal workers as they bailed out in golden parachutes or fled overseas. The tax code shouldn't encourage excessive corporate pay or moving factories overseas. There should be "no deductibility for irresponsibility."

With job retraining and guaranteed health care, the government can increase worker security, but workers must abandon obstacles to growing productivity and managers must give workers greater responsibility. Government must plan to convert military industries and redirect military research into a civilian effort to develop new technologies and products for the market.

"We need...a new economics that empowers people, rewards work, and organizes America to compete and win again" in a global economy. We should seek expanded trade in an open system,

but we should tell other countries that "if you won't play by those rules, we'll play by yours."

The president needs stronger tools to pry open closed markets (such as Rep. Dick Gephardt's new trade bill). Also, any new Mexican free-trade agreement must include strong protections for workers and the environment. "Economic growth won't come from government spending," but from smarter workers, more daring entrepreneurs and corporations taking the long view.

The middle class deserves a tax cut and the rich a tax hike to restore fairness, but "I'm not out to soak the rich." A capital gains tax cut would be bad, but an investment tax credit for small and medium business and a new business tax break for investments of five years or more would spur growth. By increasing government efficiency, controlling health costs, staving off further collapse of financial institutions, and limiting growth of current consumption programs to growth in personal income, the deficit could be reduced over time.

Continued on page 22

Continued on following page

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 18-24, 1991 7

Continued from preceding page

ing. In addition, its sense of social responsibility and governmental limits may endear him to conservatives.

At the November 23 meeting of state Democratic chairs, a liberal backer of Clinton—one of many supporters seeded through the crowd by an astute staff to energize the governor's already warm reception—asked Clinton if he didn't simply represent warmed-over Republicanism.

"You've heard me," he quipped. "Do you think that?" Then he made the ritual oath of loyalty: "I'm a Democrat by heritage, instinct and conviction. I lived with a grandfather who thought he was going to Roosevelt when he died."

Clinton is "the closest thing to a Bobby Kennedy that I've seen in our generation," Shearer argues. "He can strike a responsive chord with working-class folk, black and white, the middle class, and fair-minded businessmen."

Yet Clinton never mentions, let alone appeals to, unions directly in his speeches. In Arkansas, the state education association fought him over required teacher testing (but now backs him for president), and other unions were miffed at his offering a state loan to a business whose workers were out on strike. But even if he fails to identify with a bedrock Democratic constituency, he isn't antagonistic toward organized labor.

Tightrope act: On trade issues Clinton walks a fine line—advocating more open trade but insisting it must be fair and not at the expense of the middle class. He supported giving the president "fast track" authority to negotiate a Mexican free-trade agreement, which lessens the chance of win-

ning the conditions he says he wants placed on such a treaty.

"I don't think you can stop the global movement of capital," he told a press conference, but he would end subsidies to capital flight. He would also work to reduce oil imports and to relieve Latin American burdens. Primarily he would work to make U.S. business more competitive, for example, by lowering health costs and improving training. That is good as far as it goes, but he ignores many of the brutal realities of contemporary international trade—from the predatory policies of Japanese industrial combines to the lack of national loyalty of American corporations.

Despite a surprisingly strong surge of popular support across the nation for the single-payer Canadian model of health-care financing, Clinton advocates a system that retains private insurance companies and links government with private interests to control costs. While he grants that it would be less efficient than a single-payer system, he argues that government would be less able on its own to resist popular pressures that would drive up costs. But he "wouldn't rule out" the single-payer model.

In the eyes of some liberals Clinton may be too inclined to reduce the deficit and unwilling to go far enough in his commitment to public investment in infrastructure and to cuts in military spending. He believes that the U.S. should continue to play a global political role. Military spending must be cut, he says, but the level must be determined by the nation's new post-Cold War strategy. His role in the DLC, despite his earlier anti-war activity, raises questions about the extent to which he is willing to break with the

U.S. history of overseas intervention.

He appears inclined, however, to stress increased reliance on international institutions in foreign affairs. Indeed, he offered support for the war against Iraq earlier this year in part on the grounds that, given the degree of international cooperation established, it would be a bad precedent to undercut the president's war authority. Clinton does not directly attack the Reagan-Bush foreign policy record (although, like Harkin, he does criticize Bush for pressuring Israel to negotiate with the Arabs, one of the administration's few commendable foreign policy initiatives).

In a major foreign policy speech last week, Clinton called for cutting military spending by a cumulative total of \$200 billion over the next five years, twice as much as Bush has proposed cutting and substantially above the \$135 billion "peace dividend" for domestic reinvestment advocated by the liberal Economic Policy Institute. Harkin proposes steadily cutting the military budget to half of its present level (from \$290 billion to about \$145 billion) over a 10 year period, a similar but ultimately deeper cut.

The job thing: Clinton's welfare reform ideas draw support from some mainstream black groups (he was well received at a large Church of God in Christ meeting recently in Memphis) and generally lack the punitive edge of conservative calls for workfare. But the big questions remain: Will jobs be available, and will those that are pay enough to support a family? Without a more explicit program of targeted urban job creation, even the most generous work-oriented welfare reform faces bleak prospects.

He continues to draw on both his more

conservative advisers from the Progressive Policy Institute (linked to the DLC) and such liberals as Shearer, Robert Reich, Ira Magaziner and pollster Stanley Greenberg. DLC officials are clearly fond of him, but Heather Booth, director of the Coalition for Democratic Values, the new liberal counterweight to the DLC, also speaks positively about Clinton's calls for investment in people and "for pulling people together, to overcome racial divisions."

Shearer says Clinton is "not running as a liberal or a conservative or a Southern moderate but to be president of the United States. I think he's been able to transcend those labels and be both a post-Cold War and a post-New Deal leader."

At the same time, Clinton's style and policies resurrect the traditions of early-20th-century Progressive Party politics.

Most of all, Clinton, like many in this year's crop of candidates, is trying to recast the Democrats as a governing party embodying the national interest. He has focused on the overarching issues of economic vitality and social community, not the social issues that have tripped up the Democrats and politics generally in recent years. For example, although Clinton supports women's right to an abortion, he typically mentions it only when asked. He's more likely to emphasize his empathy for the needs of working women.

So far Clinton has made substantial progress in bridging party divisions. The first step toward his New Covenant for the country must be to win loyal Democrats to a new covenant for their party. For many liberals that will mean overcoming doubts about Clinton's involvement in the DLC's crusade for a more conservative party. □

BOOKS TO CHANGE THE WORLD from America's Oldest Radical Publishing House

★ YOU HAVE NO COUNTRY!

Workers' Struggle Against War by Mary E. Marcy.

What causes war? Who profits from war? What can people do to stop war? □ paper \$4.50

★ THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY of MOTHER JONES

Back in print at last—and improved! The "Pittston Strike Commemorative Edition" of American labor's greatest classic! The "most dangerous woman in America" tells the story of her incredibly adventurous life of struggle for a truly free society. This splendid new edition includes a new 1990 foreword by Meridel LeSueur, an Afterword by Fred Thompson, a little-known article by Mother Jones, a tribute by Gene Debs, many new illustrations, important annotations to the text, an expanded bibliography & a useful index. Essential! □ paper \$12.95

★ HARLEM GLORY: A Fragment of Aframerican Life

by Claude McKay. Never before published, this superb novel of Black life during the Great Depression and the New Deal vividly evokes the clash of social movements and ideologies—Black nationalism, industrial unionism, racism in WPA work camps, incipient Muslim and other heterodox religions—during those stirring times. A fast-paced novel of love, work, play and revolt, acutely sensitive to the extraordinary vitality and diversity of Black culture, *Harlem Glory* reveals McKay at his very best. With an Introduction by McKay's longtime friend, Carl Cowl. □ paper \$8.95

★ REBEL VOICES: An IWW Anthology

Edited by Joyce L. Kornbluh. No group in U.S. labor history has exerted so profound, widespread & enduring an influence as the Industrial Workers of the World. Welcoming women, Blacks & immigrants long before most unions, Wobblies were labor's outstanding pioneers & innovators. This beautiful, large-format, profusely illustrated 464-page compendium of IWW essays, humor, poetry, songs, theater & art is by far the best on the subject! □ paper \$23.95

★ THE RIGHT TO BE LAZY

by Paul Lafargue. Introduction by Joseph Jablonski & an Essay by Fred Thompson. Back in print at last, this classic of iconoclastic humor and hardhitting critical theory, written in prison by Karl Marx's free-spirited Cuban-born son-in-law and aimed at all dupes of the "work ethic," was a best-seller in the heyday of Debs & the IWW. This handsome new edition is sure to spark lively controversy. Not "More Jobs!" but "Down with Work!" is the slogan for workers today. □ paper \$6.95

★ HAYMARKET SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Dave Roediger & Franklin Rosemont. A gigantic anthology of original essays & rare documents on the most world-reverberating event in American labor history: the Haymarket Affair of 1886-87, and on its vast and enduring impact in the U.S. and across the globe. "A marvelous, massive, very important book"—Studs Terkel. "A wonderful, big, fat compendium"—Pete Seeger. Large (8 1/4 x 10 3/4) format; 256 pages; over 300 illustrations. □ paper \$15.95

Check the books you want & use this handy coupon!

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please add \$1.50 shipping for the first title, & fifty cents for each additional title.

CHARLES H. KERR COMPANY

★ Publishers of Anti-Establishment Literature Since 1886 ★

1740 West Greenleaf Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60626

8 IN THESE TIMES DEC. 18-24, 1991

A Mahler grant brings new ideas to life after 70.

For more information about grants to men and women over 70, please write the Margaret Mahler Institute of the Gray Panthers. Your life's work may be worth a Mahler grant.

**Margaret Mahler
Institute
OF THE
GRAY
PANTHERS**

1424 16th St., N.W. #602
Washington, D.C. 20036

What does it take to win a Mahler grant? The power of ideas and the wisdom of a lifetime. Who wins Mahler grants? Scholars, writers and artists over 70 who show continued energy and creativity.

The Margaret Mahler Institute of the Gray Panthers challenges ageism and all forms of discrimination. That's why we promote the life-work of all people, whatever their age, but especially of people over 70.

By Laura Flanders

BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND

AN UPSURGE OF VIOLENCE IN THE BRITISH-controlled six counties of Northern Ireland has given rise to calls for the reintroduction of internment without trial. The policy is a desperate one—regarded by most officials as a last resort. But amid a wave of sectarian violence—by both nationalist supporters of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and loyalist paramilitary forces—the temptation to put people

HUMAN RIGHTS

behind bars, just to get them off the streets, is strong.

The first two weeks of November saw two army medical staff members killed in an IRA bomb attack on a Belfast hospital, as well as a Catholic mother and her 16-year-old son burned to death when their home was firebombed by Protestant youths. The IRA shot four men dead on November 13, and on the following day loyalists shot and killed three others—two Catholics and a Protestant.

"Just when you think it can't get any worse, it does," said one exhausted mother, walking home on a dark night along Belfast's New Lodge Road.

The police and the army admit that they see no chance of defeating well-trained paramilitary forces. A senior security source told the press that "the IRA terrorists are better equipped, better resourced, better led, bolder and more secure against our penetration than at any time before." And murders by loyalist gunmen, who are determined to defeat the IRA's bid to expel the British from Ireland, are increasing at an even greater rate than IRA killings.

From bad to worse: Talks between loyalist leaders and non-IRA-supporting nationalists broke down earlier this year, much to the dismay of their British initiators. But in the loyalist neighborhoods of East Belfast, the fact that the talks took place at all was the problem. To these people, taking part in negotiations with *any* nationalists signifies compromise—and the participation of loyalist politicians convinced a new corps of young radicals to take the war against nationalism into their own hands. As a result, slayings of civilians by Protestant groups this year have risen already to 36 (up from 19 in 1990)—more than three times the number of civilians killed in the same period by the IRA. (The IRA prefers to target military and police.) The total death toll in 1990 was 76. Already this year, it stands at 88.

At the same time, the leadership of Sinn Fein (the legal nationalist party that supports the right of the IRA to conduct armed struggle), appears to be at odds with the guerrilla leaders. Although Sinn Fein supporters deny that there is any division in the group's ranks, recent events suggest that the political leadership's influence with the military is waning. The bombing of the Musgrave Park Hospital occurred on the same weekend that Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams launched a public campaign to protect National Health Service hospitals. Some observers say that these violent acts, which seem to be at cross-purposes with Sinn Fein's political initiatives, are the work of recently released IRA prisoners, who are back on the streets after 15 years—the common amount of time served for a life sentence in Northern Ireland. These former inmates may be stuck in the IRA mindset of the heady days of the early '70s.

Dousing flames with gasoline: So far,



A new round of sectarian violence has Northern Ireland up against the wall.

In Northern Ireland, calls for broader police powers

only loyalists (or "unionists" who support the union with Britain) have come out officially in favor of internment. The Ulster Unionist Party, at its annual conference in October, passed a unanimous resolution calling for the return of the policy. The Northern Ireland Police Federation is also said to support the move. But the last time internment was introduced it quelled neither the violence nor the international disapproval of the way affairs are managed in the North.

When internment was tried in 1971, 342 people were picked up in the military's first dawn swoop. Only two were Protestants, and both of those had nationalist sympathies. By the end of the year, internment camps held more than 700 people. Some were held until the end of 1975, by which time some 2,000 people had been interned at one point or another. Almost all were released without being convicted of any crime. Violence soared, and Britain came under attack for incarcerating hundreds of innocent men and women in leaking army huts for no crime other than belonging to the wrong one of the North's two warring communities.

Supporters of internment's reintroduction argue that it would be different this time. Not just nationalists would be arrested. Loyalist families might even find their homes raided first, according to a security source who spoke to the British *Independent* this month. But the last three years have exposed the close relationship that exists between local loyalist paramilitaries and the state's security forces. Dozens of cases have come to light in which loyalist killers justified their actions by saying that they had seen police files or top-secret documents on their targets. Few in the nationalist community believe that internment by British security forces would be carried out without bias.

Just last month, the British government was called to defend its record in Ireland in front of the United Nations Committee Against Torture. Amnesty International and other human rights groups charge that de-

tainees held under Britain's emergency legislation are regularly subjected to physical and psychological abuse amounting to torture. Adding hundreds of new detainees to already overcrowded and underregulated facilities

would invite even greater abuse, lawyers for the Belfast-based Committee on the Administration of Justice say.

Internment already started: In the nationalist ghettos of West Belfast, there are some who believe that internment of a type is already being carried out. Increasingly, a single incident, such as the petrol-bombing of a police vehicle, or a sniper's attack on an army jeep, provides a pretext for dozens of arrests. Over the past several months in Belfast's Ballymurphy area, six young men have been arrested and charged with the throwing of a single, so-called "coffee jar bomb" that injured three soldiers in August. The soonest the men (some of whom are 17 and 18 years old) can expect to be brought to trial is two years. In the meantime, held in Belfast's detention centers along with every other category of prisoner on remand, the young people are effectively interned.

Kevin Nolan is a Ballymurphy resident who has helped to organize a support group for the young men in jail. "They all talk about internment," he said this month. "But internment's happening, and has been happening here in West Belfast."

For the British government to return officially to the policy of internment would be to admit that the authorities have reached an impasse. And that may be just what the paramilitary forces on both sides want. Amid the changes that are seizing the rest of Europe, it is as if Northern Ireland is desperate not to be forgotten, and local history here teaches that only violence and suffering attract attention to the most enduring war zone on the continent.

Laura Flanders is a freelance writer and radio producer in New York.

How and Why the American News Media Are Distorting Current Events—

Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media

by Martin A. Lee and Norman Solomon

"Unreliable Sources gives a rundown of some of the most important news stories you didn't hear about over the past decade...stories that were effectively made unavailable to the average citizen.

"Today, when the media are as big a part of the story as the story itself, you're not truly informed unless you're up on the media as well. This book is an excellent place to start." —from the Foreword by Edward Asner

"A worthy addition to the library of any student of American news media, social structure and political science." —*Washington Post*

"An invaluable service to those convinced that an uncritical approach to the media is more hazardous than it is comfortable." —*Pat Aufderheide, In These Times*

"Committed, eloquent writing that plumbs the psychological and political complexities of mass-mediated experience." —*San Francisco Chronicle*

"An essential text." —*Utne Reader*

"A much-needed consumer's guide for people who find the standard news detached from the events and issues that reflect their needs."

—Ben Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*

Martin A. Lee is the publisher of *Extra!*, the journal of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) and author of *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion*. Norman Solomon, a FAIR advisory board member, is co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation*.

Hardcover, 320 pages. Illustrated with news photos, headlines and captions. Only \$19.95.

Carol Publishing Group/A Lyle Stuart Book

To order by Visa or MasterCard, call 1-800-447-BOOK or fill out and return the coupon below.

Please send me your book *Unreliable Sources*. I enclose \$19.95, plus \$3 shipping and handling. (N.J. residents add \$1.40 sales tax).

Name (please print) _____

Street _____

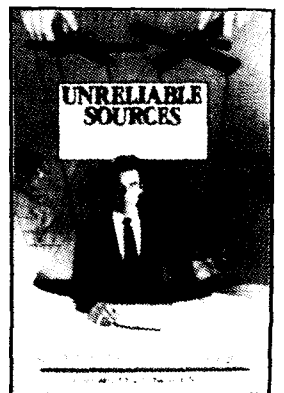
City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Clip this coupon and mail with your payment to:

Carol Publishing Group, Dept. IN, 120 Enterprise Avenue, Secaucus, NJ 07094



Russia

Continued from page 3

"It is immoral in this situation," he added, "to torpedo this last chance to prevent confrontation" between the republics. A new union based on the Gorbachov model, he said

sternly, "would only make people suffer more."

In the past, the Russian parliament—which still has a large contingent of ex-Communists—has bitterly contested Yeltsin's initiatives. But they were almost all in his corner during last week's deliberations. In a rather desultory debate, some expressed

concern about the Ukrainian amendments, while others said the Minsk agreement was unconstitutional, yet they would vote for it anyway. Even Travkin, newly mellowed in the wake of his disastrous public rally, said he now supported both the union and the Minsk agreement. In the end, the resolution

in support of the Minsk agreement passed 188 to 6, with seven abstentions.

For good measure, the Russian parliament voted to withdraw those members who also sit in the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was scheduled to meet later in the day. That decision appeared to effectively dissolve the 51-year-old Supreme Soviet. The withdrawal of its Russian, as well as Ukrainian and Byelorussian members, appeared to deprive it of a quorum. The Supreme Soviet met anyway, with a few hardliners angrily denouncing Russia's actions.

Back at the Russian parliament, there was a feeling of euphoria among many members. "I am extremely happy because we have at long last put words into practice," said Valery Rebrikov, chairman of the parliament's Committee of Economic Relations. "There has been enough of arguing about whether the chicken came before the egg. Now, with one bold stroke, we have some prospects for actually solving something."

"I just came from Rostov, a Russian city near the Ukrainian border," Rebrikov added. "The terrible economic situation there has been greatly worsened by the fact that the Ukrainians set up customs posts along the border to prevent the export of its products. I measure the worth of the commonwealth agreement by the prospect that there will soon be food again in the markets of Rostov."

Walter Ruby writes regularly for *In These Times* from Moscow.

Message to Israeli Government & U.S. Congress from some American & Israeli Jews:
END THE OCCUPATION! LET THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE GO! NO MORE BILLIONS UNTIL!

For a unique and free information packet please contact:

The Jewish Committee On The Middle East (JCOME)

(202) 362-JCOME - (202) 362-5266 - Fax (202) 362-6965 - POB 18367 - Washington, DC 20036

JCOME ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Dr. Yigal Arens, Univ. of Southern CA; Prof. Michael Astour, Univ. of Southern IL; Prof. Joel Beinin, Middle East History, Stanford Univ.; Mark Bruzonsky, Former Washington Rep. World Jewish Congress; Prof. Noam Chomsky, M.I.T.; Prof. Richard Falk, Princeton Univ.; Prof. Herbert Hill, Univ. of WI; Jeremy Levin, Former CNN Beirut Bureau Chief; Prof. Zachary Lockman, Middle East History, Harvard Univ.; Prof. Seymour Melman, Columbia Univ.; Dr. Eileen Newmark, Ph.D., Intercultural Communications; Prof. Don Peretz, Middle East Studies, SUNY; Henry Schwarzschild, NY; Prof. J. David Singer, Univ. of MI; Richard Walden, Attorney. With Jewish Professors at over 150 Universities nationwide.

New: "INFO BY FAX" - Call For Details

Students: Please Call...We Need Interns.

Twenty years later, we've
given people a better way to
put this finger to use.



Sit ins. Protest marches. Flower power. Times have changed. But

the need for grass roots involvement hasn't.



Introducing Working Assets Long Distance. The only phone company that is as committed to social and political change as you are.

Every time you use your finger to make a long distance call, one percent of the bill goes to nonprofit action groups at no cost to you. Hard-hitting advocacy groups like Amnesty International,



Greenpeace, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the American Civil Liberties Union and many others. You help decide the groups. And that's just the beginning.

We're more than a phone company that gives money to good causes. Our intent is to make your individual voice heard. That's why we offer free calls to corporate and political leaders. And well-argued letters at a fraction of the cost of a Mailgram. So you can demand a halt to clear-cutting our ancient forests or let Senators know



how you feel about important issues like reproductive rights. It's that simple. Your phone becomes a tool for democracy and you don't give up a thing. You see, Working Assets comes with the exact same service as the major long distance carriers. Convenient "dial 1" calling, 24-hour operators, and fiber optic sound quality. All this at rates lower than AT&T's basic rates. You've got nothing to lose. And signing up couldn't be simpler.



Human Rights

Just give us a call at
1-800-788-8588, ext. 113
or fill out the coupon

today. We'll hook you up right away without any intrusion or interruption. So you can help change the world without lifting a finger. Okay, maybe one finger.

☐ Yes, I want Working Assets Long Distance to be my primary long distance carrier. And I'll get 30 minutes of free long distance calls. 1-800-788-8588, ext. 113.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone Number _____

My current long distance carrier is _____

Signature _____ Date _____

PLEASE RETURN TO: Working Assets Long Distance
701 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111

AB-100-ITR-1

WORKING ASSETS LONG DISTANCE

Call 1-800-788-8588 (ext. 113)

Donnelly/Colt Custom Printing

Box 188-ITT, Hampton, Ct. 06247; (203) 455-9621. Fax: (203) 455-9597. Buttons, bumper stickers, posters, postcards. In stock items available. Union-made. Color 32-page catalog (recycled paper) \$1.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

If applicable affix your mailing label here.

I AM:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

☐ MOVING.

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4 - 6 weeks for the address change.

☐ SUBSCRIBING. Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else in your mailbox within 4 - 6 weeks. Check price and term below. **ASTNO**

☐ RENEWING. Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. Check price and term below. **ARSTO**

☐ SHOPPING. Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Fill out your name and address above and name and address of recipient below. A handsome gift card will be sent. **XSTHO**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICE / TERM

- ☐ One year: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months: \$18.95
- ☐ Student/retired, One year: \$24.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my VISA/MC

ACCT. NO. _____

EXP. DATE _____

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$41.00 per year. Canadian orders add \$27.00 per year.

In These Times Customer Service
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

2000

The evolution of free speech

By David Kairys

Last week marked the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. Those first 10 amendments to the Constitution, together with the Civil War amendments, embody the features of our system of government that most essentially characterize American freedom. Yet there is an apparent lack of interest in this anniversary, perhaps reflecting the absence of a shared understanding of the meaning of free speech and equality, or maybe because of uneasiness about the current conservative direction of the Supreme Court.

The celebration of free speech gains wide attention in our media only when it is formulated generally, or when used to condemn repressive practices in "enemy" countries. In this country, most people believe freedom of speech was established when the Bill of Rights was adopted in 1791 more or less as we know it today. But, in fact, no right of free speech as we know it existed until a basic transformation of speech law occurred between 1919 and 1940. This essay focuses on that history and on the current Supreme Court's attempts to dismantle free speech as we now know it.

ON JUNE 10, 1894, ALMOST A CENTURY ago, Rev. William Davis went to Boston Common to hand out tracts from the Bible and to talk to whomever would listen about God and the corruption of local officials. He wound up in the Charles Street jail—arrested and convicted in what would become the first major free speech case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The court ruled unanimously that the mayor could "absolutely or conditionally forbid public speaking in a highway or

public park." It was no different, the court said, "than for the owner of a private house to forbid it in his house."

In 1909, Emma Goldman, the well-known political activist and lecturer, gave a talk on dramatist Henrik Ibsen. Among the people in the packed private hall in New York were many uniformed policemen. A sergeant mounted the podium and said she could speak as long as she stuck to the topic—a common police command that meant don't say anything political.

Goldman began, but when she first mentioned Ibsen, the sergeant said she couldn't say his name. She protested. The crowd, at first amused by the absurdity of the police order, was roughly cleared out by police with clubs. Such censorship and violence were not new to Goldman and other activists. She and Margaret Sanger sometimes spent a night in jail for lecturing on birth control.

Not long afterward, the Industrial Workers of the World, trying to organize migratory workers, started a national campaign of what they called "free speech fights." They would gather on street corners in cities that had banned street speaking and step up on a soapbox to speak and get arrested, one at a time, until the jails, schools and other available buildings were full of free-speech prisoners. People came from around the country, hitchhiking or riding on boxcars, and cities frequently relented. However, the courts regularly upheld bans on speaking, assembling and leafletting in public places, sometimes carving out exceptions for groups such as the Salvation Army.

Even as late as 1935, after the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the Congress of Industrial Organizations was

regularly prohibited from leafletting, speaking and public and private meetings. In Jersey City, N.J., Mayor Frank Hague threw many union organizers out of town. The CIO's suit against Hague went to the Supreme Court, which ruled in 1939, contrary to its earlier decision in Davis' case, that the streets, sidewalks and parks, though owned by the city and controlled by the mayor, were held in "trust" for the use of the people "for purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens and discussing public questions."

In this same period, the Supreme Court also adopted the "clear and present danger" rule, which is now usually interpreted to protect speech unless it creates an immediate, definite and serious danger.

The previous dicta from Supreme Court decisions represent current thinking, but the earlier episodes and court decisions are rarely, if ever, mentioned in our courses on history or social studies or in our national celebrations. Something very dear to us—freedom of speech—is not what it seems. Our "founding fathers" accomplished many great things, but establishment of freedom of speech was not among them. In fact, the labor movement deserves more credit for free speech as we know it than the founding fathers.

Suppressing critics: Before the '30s, we had no legally protected rights of free speech in anything like the form we

Something very dear to us—freedom of speech—is not what it seems.

now know it. Criticism of the government or government officials, called seditious libel, was routinely made a crime. Every state had a seditious libel law when the Constitution was adopted. And within a decade of the adoption of the First Amendment, the founding fathers in Congress initiated and passed the repressive Alien and Sedition Act (1798). The Federalists used this act to suppress their outspoken critics.

When the Jeffersonians gained the presidency in 1801, they also prosecuted their critics, including a minister who criticized Thomas Jefferson in a Thanksgiving Day sermon. More than 2,000 were prosecuted, and many served substantial prison terms. A laborer served two years for erecting a sign that criticized the tax laws and urged "peace and retirement to the president."

The founding fathers were part of an elite class more interested in promoting commerce and restraining the democratic impulses of the public than in any new notions of free speech. Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Franklin, even Jefferson and Thomas Paine—all supported criminalization of seditious libel.

The adoption of the First Amendment, mandating that "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech" was the first—and only—proscription in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights protecting free speech, and it affected only Congress. The available evidence of the framers' intent is sparse. Most likely they favored the version of speech law already established in English common law and followed by the states. Common law included protection against prior censorship of the press. The framers apparently also wished to prohibit

Continued on following page

IN THESE TIMES DEC. 18-24, 1991 11

2000 2000 2

Continued from preceding page

prior restraint by Congress but to leave other regulation of speech a matter of state prerogative, as it had been.

Prior to the '30s, the courts upheld seditious libel laws and suppression of speech or writing based on the flimsiest proof that it could lead to disorder or unlawful conduct sometime in the future, in however remote or indirect a fashion. This "bad tendency doctrine" was used, for example, to uphold Southern states' prohibitions of speech and writings that opposed slavery on the ground that they might lead to a slave rebellion. Until the '30s, speech remained at the sufferance of local and national governments. They could, and frequently did, prohibit and punish anything

that government officials, the business establishment or others who had influence did not want to hear.

But vigorous, sometimes vitriolic debate did occur. And a tradition of speech—and struggle to obtain the right to speak—did develop. Courageous, often rebellious Americans—including, most prominently, opponents of slavery and advocates of civil rights, women's rights and union's rights—fought for and shaped our system of free expression, often at considerable personal risk.

Understanding that this history was one of popularly-won gains can also help us understand the limitations of present law. Why, for example, are so many people excluded from effective expression while

the media celebrate the American miracle of free speech? Because the constitutionally protected types of speech that were appropriate for the '30s—when free speech first gained legal protection—are no longer adequate now that the means of communication have drastically changed.

The labor movement fought to attain the most effective means then available for reaching and organizing working people—leafletting, assembling and demonstrating in public places, picketing and door-to-door canvassing. But now we receive ideas and information almost exclusively from television, radio, newspapers and magazines. The scope of our speech rights has been frozen while technological and social changes have rendered them ser-

iously obsolete.

Negative right: Today, Americans generally lack the ability to engage meaningfully in discourse on the issues of the day that our leaders celebrate so self-righteously. The right to picket or demonstrate enables people to manifest their opposition to an institution, policy or individual. But debate on public policy—to the extent there is any—is conducted beyond the reach of most people. Our rights of speech are now essentially negative. We can display displeasure, which may or may not gain a spot on the local news, often depending on whether it includes some illegality or gimmick. But one must have a lot of money or power to speak in any depth on a policy question and be heard in the major mass media.

Amendment IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment XIII

SECTION IV Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor shall private property be taken for public use without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

African-Americans and the Bill of Rights

By Earl Lewis

ASK MOST AMERICANS ABOUT THE relationship between the Bill of Rights and African-Americans and you draw either a blank stare or the erroneous claim that Article I of the Constitution permanently fixed African slaves as three-fifths of Europeans.

Perhaps the blank stare is to be expected. After all, the Bill of Rights, or the first 10 Amendments to the Constitution, made no direct mention of blacks. In fact, until ratification of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, the Constitution creatively

avoided mention of race or racial groupings, save native Americans.

The fact that some people mistakenly confuse the original Constitution, which became effective on March 4, 1789, and the Bill of Rights, which was ratified on Dec. 15, 1791, speaks to a broader set of issues. The Bill of Rights made no mention of African-Americans. Article I of the Constitution referred to slaves only as three-fifths of "all other persons."

To conclude, however, that the Bill of Rights had no direct bearing on African-Americans radically rewrites more than 200 years of history. In his widely acclaimed study *In the Matter of Color*, A. Leon Hig-

ginbotham dates the beginning of the inextricable link between race and the law with the colonial period. As early as the 1670s, statutes in Virginia and Maryland codified slavery into a system of permanent bondage for Africans and their descendants. These laws, moreover, became the basis for similar legislation throughout British North America.

Meanwhile, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, African peoples used the same laws to petition for freedom and rights. The case of *Quock Walker vs. Jennison* (1781), for example, is widely viewed as cementing the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts in 1783. Walker sued Jennison, charging as-

sault and battery. Jennison responded that Walker was his property and not his neighbor, and, as property, he could be punished. A jury disagreed.

Legal limbo: The Bill of Rights, however, introduced new ambiguities and opportunities, which were exacerbated by the retreat from the ennobling principles of the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution. As David Brion Davis sketched in *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, the Constitution's framers evinced considerable ambivalence about the presence of slaves and the practice of slavery. Few could say they had never engaged in the "execrable commerce."

2000

TV networks and local stations as well as large newspapers—owned by fewer and fewer large corporations with less and less concern for journalism or public discourse—claim absolute protection not only from government censorship (protection that is certainly appropriate), but also from any claims to access by the people. Although these media corporations monopolize the marketplace of ideas, the courts tend to protect them against demands for popular access, as if the major media were merely individuals handing out leaflets on a street corner.

This has occurred even as the content of our media has degenerated. When pressed, corporate standardbearers of free speech acknowledge their avoidance of ideas or

controversy. They deny the limited rights to access, such as a right to reply, that are common in Western Europe, and that would improve quality and audience interest as well as enhance democracy. In short, current conditions require that a much broader range of people and ideas should gain access to our media.

Yet things are going in the opposite direction. In recent years, free speech law has shifted away from its '30s emphasis on enhancing the ability of ordinary people to express themselves meaningfully. While the right to engage in flag-burning has gotten much attention, the media has been inexplicably silent as the Rehnquist Court has been undermining the existing system of free expression.

The conservative redefinition of speech law has featured three major elements: free speech rights available to people of ordinary means have been increasingly narrowed and restricted. Free speech rights of wealthy people and corporations have been greatly enlarged. And a free speech barrier has been erected that prohibits public access to the media and important electoral, economic and social reforms.

Earlier decisions protecting the right of individuals to distribute literature in shopping centers have been overruled. Free speech protections have been extended to all corporations, even as to issues unrelated to their businesses. And limits on the amount of money an individual can spend to support a candidate have been invali-

dated.

After 200 years—and with democracy fueling revolts around the world—American democracy should mean more than the right to picket when you're really upset and to vote every four years in elections devoid of content or context. Change will require, as it has in the past, recognition that free speech and democracy are political, not narrowly legal, issues. And it will also require an enlargement of our understanding of such rights to include public access to the various mass media. □

David Kairys, a longtime civil rights lawyer, is professor of law at Temple University. He edited and co-authored the 1990 revised edition of *The Politics of Law*, from which this essay was derived.

nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and

Amendment X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Fewer yet believed Africans their equals. Consequently, scores of African-Americans found themselves in legal limbo as they traversed the nation as free or enslaved people.

Did the right to petition the government for redress of grievances include them? Could they comfortably assume that the 4th Amendment, which protected all citizens from unlawful search and seizure, safeguarded them from slave catchers and bounty hunters? Contemporaries and scholars agree: They could not be so assured. Instead, the question of citizenship and unlawful search and seizure awaited the Supreme Court's landmark ruling in *Scott vs. Sandford* (1857).

The *Dred Scott* decision momentarily settled the question of citizenship. Writing for the majority, U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney concluded that African-Americans could be citizens of individual states but not the U.S. Although poorly reasoned and badly researched, the opinion proved politically expedient—temporarily protecting Southern and some Northern interests by limiting what it meant to be free and black in our republic. If blacks were not citizens of the U.S., they had no right to petition the court for redress, no right to claim benefit from the Bill of Rights.

Fortunately, the Bill of Rights proved a living document, open to new interpretations, new protections. Following the Civil War, the country eliminated the ambiguities of the previous century by amending the Constitution once again. The new statutes of liberty—the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments—expanded upon the rights and privileges articulated in the Bill of Rights.

The 13th Amendment abolished slavery, putting into the Constitution language stricken from the Declaration of Independence and excluded from the Constitution altogether. The 14th Amendment determined the grounds for citizenship, ensured equal protection and due process, and, among other things, endowed Congress with the

powers to enforce the laws. And the 15th Amendment granted male citizens of all races the right to vote. But to the chagrin of many, African-Americans had to remain ever vigilant lest their civil rights be eroded.

The retreat from equal protection came early and definitively. Between 1876 and 1896, a series of Supreme Court rulings severely narrowed the Bill of Rights and the post-Civil War amendments. The first substantive hint of the new social order came in *The Slaughter-House Cases* (1873). A divided Supreme Court distinguished between the rights of a federal and a state citizen by greatly restricting the former. Three years later, in *United States vs. Cruikshank*, the court addressed the barbarous murder of 100 blacks in Colfax, La., and overturned a lower court ruling and found that the defendants had not violated the 1st, 2nd and 14th Amendments. The line of judicial reasoning culminated in the 1896 *Plessy* decision, which legalized the doctrine of separate but equal.

They had a dream: Over the course of the next century, new challenges and new opportunities to refer to the Bill of Rights arose. African-Americans, in their dogged determination to fulfill the dream of equality, helped expand the meaning of the law—the Bill of Rights.

Amendment VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment XVII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Perhaps the most heralded and surprising example dates from the '30s. In 1931, nine black youths hopped a train and had a chance encounter with a smaller group of whites. To the later surprise of the nine blacks, two in the other party were females. When confronted by law officials and questioned about their presence on the train, the women alleged the most heinous of all interracial crimes had occurred: the rape of white women by black men. The black youths were charged and convicted.

The drama that unfolded became known nationally and internationally as the *Scottsboro* boys case. And, as Dan Carter noted in his classic study *Scottsboro*, the case changed both the nation and the Southern social landscape.

How the case changed the Southern social landscape is another story; how it changed the nation had a direct bearing on the Bill of Rights. The 6th Amendment guaranteed all citizens a speedy trial before an "impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." It also assured all the assistance of competent counsel for their defense.

The defendants in the *Scottsboro* boys case charged that they were denied competent counsel and an impartial jury. During the hastily concluded initial trial, which lasted six days and resulted in the death penalty for all nine, the court-sanctioned

attorneys lacked the time, the will and the skills to defend. Moreover, African-Americans in that part of Alabama had been systematically excluded from the jury rolls. In *Powell vs. Alabama* (1932), the Supreme Court upheld the right of the accused to counsel. Because the 6th Amendment granted protection to defendants in federal trials, the court turned to the equal-protection clause of the 14th Amendment, which offered protection at both the state and federal levels.

Three years later, in *Norris vs. Alabama*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the exclusion of blacks from juries violated the 14th Amendment. Each case extended the rights first expressed in the 6th Amendment, proving once again the enduring nature of the Bill of Rights.

The men who authored the original Bill of Rights recognized what it ignored as well as what it covered. Since that time we have struggled to improve on their enduring genius. That they were imperfect is beyond dispute. Nonetheless, their undeniable concern for democratic values—despite their skirting the issue of slavery—enabled others to modify or amend their work.

Most importantly, the ideals that fueled the writing of the Bill of Rights also inspired African-Americans to struggle for two centuries to keep the Bill of Rights a living document. In the process, blacks helped the nation examine the importance of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, due process and justifiable bail and punishment.

Today, as we debate the legality of ordinances prohibiting hate crimes, we do well to recall the historical relationship between the Bill of Rights and African-Americans. □

Earl Lewis, associate professor of history and Afro-American studies and director of the Center for Afro-American and African Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, is the author of *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class and Power in Twentieth Century Norfolk, Virginia*.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Miles Harvey, Jim McNeill, Glenora Croucher (on leave)
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 Contributing Editor: Peter Karman
 Washington Correspondents: John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
 Eastern Europe Correspondent: Paul Hockenos
 Los Angeles Correspondent: Carol Tice
 Copy Editor: Deirdre Shesgreen
 Editorial Promotions: Lisa Grayson
 Researcher: George Hodak
 Editorial Intern: Zoe Zolbrod

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Production Assistant/Editorial Cartoonist: Terry LaBan
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing/Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Classified Advertising: Greg Kilbane
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall
 Circulation Director: Janet Geovanis
 Fulfillment Manager: Greg Kilbane
 Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hyberl

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

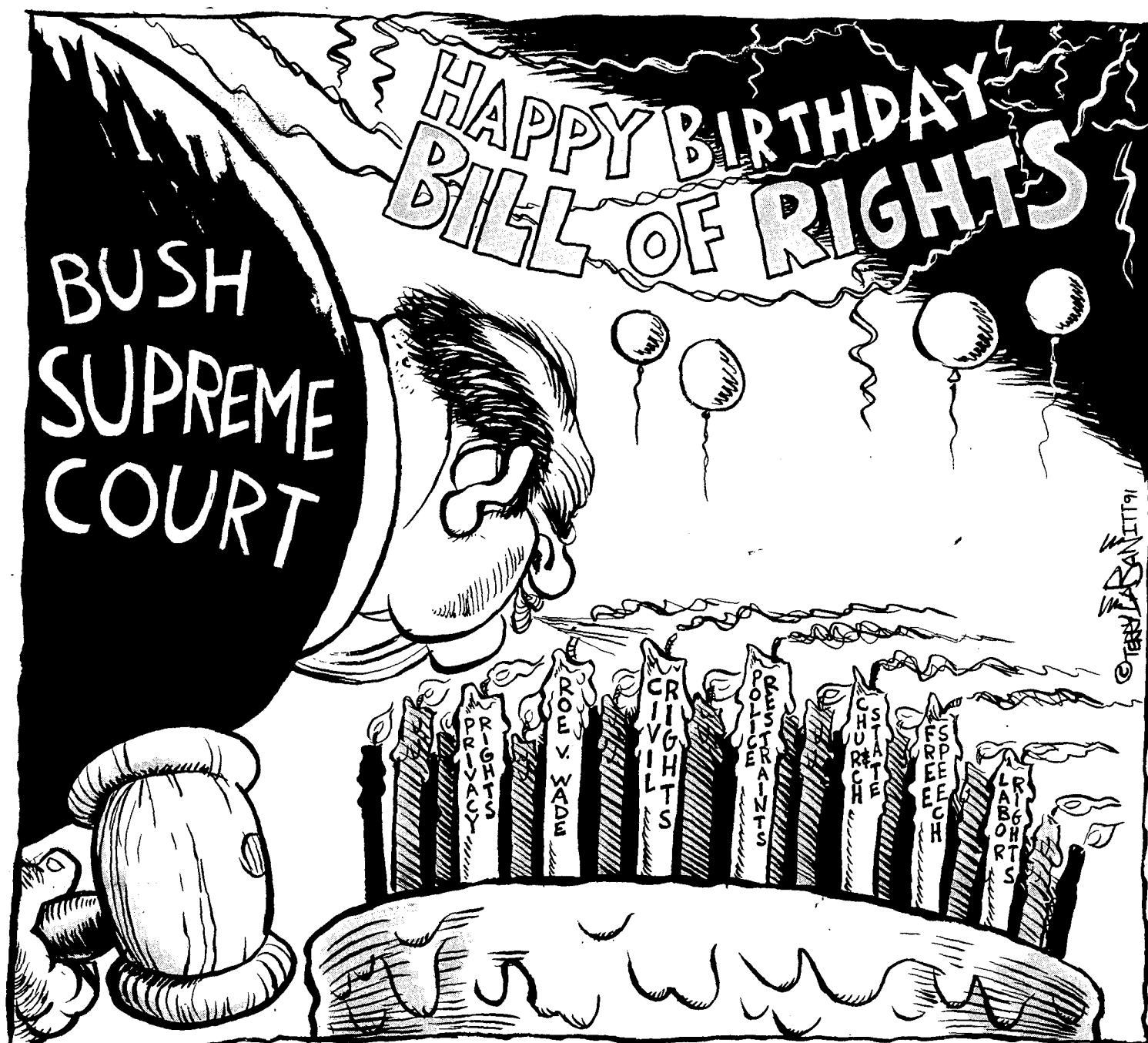
(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1991 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$5; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

This issue (Vol. 16, No. 5) published Dec. 18, 1991, for newsstand sales Dec. 18-24, 1991.



The electoral party and the governing party

Every four years the governing party is transformed into an electoral party, while at the same time candidates of the party out of office also temporarily repudiate long-standing policies and attitudes. In this process, Americans are briefly treated to promises of democratic social programs as candidates throw rhetorical bones to working people and play down their favoritism to big business. In this process, deathbed conversions abound—only to be repudiated after the election. Thus during the 1988 campaign we were treated to a George Bush who wanted to become the environmental president, the education president and, of course, the friend of the common man. Now we have Gov. Bill Clinton engaged in unacknowledged disavowal of his role as a founder and chair of the Democratic Leadership Council, the organization of conservative Democrats that has steadfastly supported the Reagan-Bush approach to military spending and world policing. (See story on page 3.)

The good news here is that such conversions implicitly recognize the left sympathies of the majority of Americans, and that some policies may actually change, at least until after the presidential election. The bad news is that the governing party will remain the party of big business until the left elects its own people to office.

But, as the saying goes, thank God for small favors, one of which is the president's new-found concern for the tax burden imposed on middle-income families during the Reagan years. For months Bush tried to blame congressional Democrats for the country's sluggish economy. If only the Democrats would pass his plan to cut capital gains taxes and index them for inflation, he said, the money given to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans would trickle down to the

other 99 percent by stimulating investment. As recently as last month, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-GA) was pushing a plan that would have showered new tax breaks and loopholes on the very richest Americans—and, in the bargain, further increase the federal deficit.

But two weeks ago Bush read the polls and suddenly discovered the plight of middle-income workers. Acknowledging that "the middle-class is paying a heavy tax burden," he switched course. His budget director, Richard Darman, followed suit and told the House Ways and Means Committee that the administration is now "interested in additional relief for the middle-class," and at the president's instruction is "looking at those options."

This followed on the heels of a deathbed conversion on the Democratic side. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), co-author of the existing tax law and long-time stalwart friend of the rich and super-rich, had earlier introduced a Democratic tax plan that offered tax relief to middle-income families, while increasing taxes on the very rich. The Rostenkowski plan would provide working families with an income tax credit in 1992 and 1993 equal to 20 percent of their Social Security payroll taxes, up to a maximum of \$400 a year in tax savings on joint returns. And to pay for this cut, Rostenkowski would increase the top tax rate from the current 31 percent to 35 percent for the highest income families (generally those making more than \$200,000 a year) and would add an 11 percent surtax on people with taxable incomes of more than \$1 million.

It's hard to say whether Rostenkowski got religion because of pressure from House leaders concerned with winning the presidential election next year, or whether it was because of his problems at home. For the first time in his 17 terms in office, he is facing a serious primary challenge from an independent reformer in a newly-apportioned district, half of which is traditionally liberal. But whatever the reason for his conversion, we're glad he has seen the light, however fleetingly.

LETTERS



Pulling legs and jumping in shoes

THANKS TO JOHN JUDIS FOR THE EXCELLENT ARTICLE on the Cold War (*JTT*, Nov. 20). It was enlightening and unnerving. I never realized the true crisis that existed in Berlin or the way a military official almost started World War III.

Judis has taken a lot of flack over his articles on the Gulf War. I suspect, however, that he was merely playing the devil's advocate. In so doing, he did an excellent job of presenting the logic of those who felt the war was necessary. All too often the left clings to its own rhetoric and ideology without listening to the other side. Only when we on the left learn to step into the logic of our opponents, as Judis has done, will we be able to construct a timely critique of the flaws in that logic and present a cohesive effective plan of action to combat it.

Lon Herman
Ferndale, Mich.

How to win

IN ORDER FOR THE DEMOCRATS TO BE ABLE TO WIN the presidency in 1992, you are certainly correct that they will have to borrow a script from Wofford (Editorial, Nov. 20). They will have to fight hard on the issues that are of concern to the majority of people and, at the same time, they must speak in a language to which people can relate. Wofford's retort to Thornburgh's baiting was brilliant: "If criminals have a right to a lawyer, all Americans should have a right to a doctor." In America today, regular Democratic answers are not sufficient anymore. Certain explanations of issues that regular Democrats take for granted no longer make sense for most people.

For example, in order to defend affirmative action efficiently, liberal Democrats are going to have to realize that millions of low- and middle-income whites are legitimately concerned about how this will affect them. This is not a question of doing away with affirmative action. It requires, rather, placing oneself in others' shoes and trying to comprehend their experiences, in order to find a way to explain what, in the end, helps everyone.

Lorenzo Canizares
West New York, N.J.

Dead end

IN THESE TIMES SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR THE work it is doing with the October Surprise story. It's too bad that it is going to go nowhere, politically.

After the Watergate scandal of 1973, an informal but very powerful "gentlemen's agreement" was arrived at. The powers that be could not allow for another such government wrenching experience. Democratic and Republican leaders are rivals, but their

loyalty to the overall status quo is unshakable. They detest anything that rocks the boat. The latest evidence of this was the Iran-contra scandal. In any other country, such a scandal would have brought about anything from a parliamentary vote of no confidence to tanks in the streets. Instead, Congress masterfully saw to it that the investigation went nowhere and that the Reagan administration was saved from its own folly. One president resigning in disgrace was enough for these people.

If proof comes out of an October Surprise in the 1980 election, the repercussions would be incalculable. But such proof will never see the light of day. That you can bet on. It would be too threatening to the political establishment of this country.

Randy Cunningham
Cleveland

Don't exaggerate, take the best

I WAS IMPRESSED TO FIND ROBERT A. BUTTERFIELD's article "Restoring Socialism?" (*JTT*, Nov. 20). Discussion of religious ideas is usually limited in other publications to TV ministry scandal or the dangers of raging fundamentalists. However, I question whether Butterfield does justice to the Hebrew and Christian scriptures and the deity they promote. That modern socialist thought concerned with fair economic practice, responsible use of resources and justice has parallels with some selected passages of scripture seems evident, but to present one as the outgrowth of the other historically or conceptually is simplistic and a genetic fallacy. Parallels? Perhaps. Kissing cousins? Doubtful.

The religious community formed around the writings of the Torah, which Butterfield cites (Leviticus, Deuteronomy), is foremost a human and divine community formed around covenant, a binding mutual agreement formed in response to the political, economic, religious and social liberation of the Exodus event. The 8th-century prophets Butterfield recommends to us were critical not only of the failure to keep and fulfill that covenant but also of idolatry and immorality.

While many parts of the Torah and prophets demand justice for the poor and protection of the weak, there are also many more parts that are misogynist and that call for the death of disobedient children, death for victims of rape and death for alternative sexual practices and unorthodox spirituality. Sounds more like a platform for David Duke than the socialist agenda!

That we are stewards of creation, that the human person is more than a consumer/production machine or that the prophets on down to Jesus taught the inclusion of the social outcast and advocated for justice needs to be rediscovered by religious communities that have adopted the growth, competition, success model of our consumer society and have little taste for critical examination of its practices. One simple word might help in this much-needed reformation—*oikonomia*. It is the Greek word for the proper use, distribution, stewardship and responsible management of all of creation from a cosmic to domestic level. It is the word from which we derive "economics." Not only in scripture but in historical tradition, Douglas Meeks reminds us that indeed God is "God the Economist." His book by that name points out that God is neither a capitalist nor socialist mascot to be invoked for a blessing. Rather in God's *oikonomia* there is justice, abundance and fullness of existence for all people and for all of creation.

Rather than Butterfield's recommendation, I would offer this: that theologians and socialists engage in a mutual criticism and analysis of their own respective traditions, not for mud-slinging but to arrive at a creative synthesis of the best of both that would provide an alternative to the growing and overwhelming despair and misery around us. As two great leaders, Moses and Marx, once said long ago (my paraphrase), "All we have to lose are our chains."

Rev. John R. Mazarella
First Baptist Church
Winnebago, Minn.

To be [a socialist] is to do [good]

IT IS REFRESHING TO HEAR A BIBLICAL SCHOLAR defend the "s" word ("Restoring socialism? Try divine intervention," Nov. 20). And I think Christians and Jews can indeed find religio-moral support for socialist thought and practice in the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament. Nonetheless, public discourse in this country should not appeal to a particular religious or secular worldview to sanction or otherwise legitimate socialist visions and programs if it is to be true to the ideal of a polycentric democratic pluralism. Rather, such a discourse should look to democratic theories, which include principles of justice, liberty and equality, for a vindication of the socialist project, however much the roots of these principles can be found in Judeo-Christian traditions.

Individuals may be more or less motivated by their personal faith and convictions to instantiate socialist ideas (e.g., living communally) or struggle for socialist programs (e.g., a guaranteed annual income), but a public justification culled from a particular worldview probably will not be convincing for someone hostile to, indifferent about, or ignorant of that worldview. Thus a Marxist humanist may be liable to persuasion by references to Rosa Luxemburg or Antonio Gramsci or even Sartre, yet she is not likely to be convinced by Buddhist references to the Eightfold Path or Bodhisattvas of Wisdom and Compassion. In fact, "Christians," notoriously, talk too much, be it at my front porch or on the television. If more of them practiced what they preached we would have many more Christian Socialists in our midst, having taken to heart the Sermon on the Mount: "That is why I say you will recognize them by their fruits" (Matt. 7: 19-20).

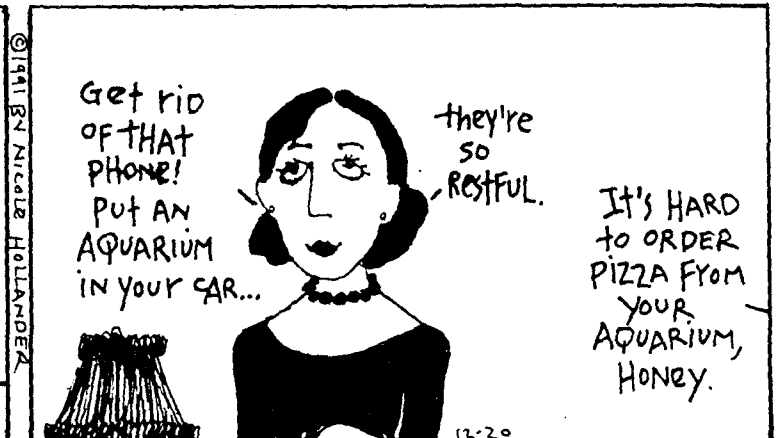
The next qualitative increase in the common good beyond the welfare state may issue from socialist ideas—ancient and modern—as well as from the extension of democratic logic into the economic realm. This country's well-known penchant for individualism may, ironically, be the route through which socialist ideas become popularized. That is because the quest for salvation, liberation, self-actualization, self-realization or individuation found within the plethora of idiomatic worldviews "out there" requires the dialectic of the common good if it is to be something greater than an exercise in hedonistic solipsism.

One hopes the respective worldviews of an engaged citizenry contain the spiritual, intellectual and moral resources sufficient to inspire its adherents to act on behalf of this common good. Robert A. Butterfield is confident that Jewish and Christian worldviews do have such resources. Perhaps self-professed rationalists, native Americans, anarchists, Buddhists, Moslems and others can come to socialist conclusions as well. Let us hope, after the Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, or even pray, with the Thai Buddhist Sulak Sivaraksa, that this be so. Finally, as socialists, let us act, in the exemplary spirit of Mohandas K. Gandhi, to draw our socialist circle across and beyond individual worldview boundaries.

Patrick Seamus O'Donnell
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



By Martha Burk

PUNDITS ARE STRUGGLING TO INTERPRET the contradictory political outcomes of 1991. The victory of Harris Wofford (D-PA) has been hailed as a mandate for a new liberal Democratic agenda, while the ousting of Democrats in New Jersey is touted as a reaffirmation of conservative anti-tax sentiment. The rise of Louisiana Republican David Duke in a conservative populist side-show has been cited as evidence that the liberal message won't capture votes.

These disparate results make sense when we look at what might be called the "frustration factor." Voters no longer see the parties as representing them, so they are voting against the status quo, whatever that status quo happens to be.

Many voters (as well as people who no longer bother) believe that the two major political parties have failed everyone except the monied interests, usually corporations. This can be summed up by the remarks of one man surveyed by the Kettering Foundation, a group that studies citizen involvement in the electoral process. His comments appear in a 1991 foundation report, "Citizens and Politics":

"I know everyone in the state of Virginia is against drilling for oil in the Chesapeake Bay. But just because every man, woman and child doesn't want the drilling and Exxon does, you can bet your life there will be drilling. This makes me feel helpless."

For the most part, today's officeholders also believe they are responsible only to those who give them large sums of money. This is a quantum change from the democracy we are taught in school—although, actually, not much of a departure from the politics of the founding fathers, who wanted representatives to represent white male landowners. Landowners have now been replaced by capital-owners, who are also overwhelmingly white and male.

Voters want to restore the concept that elected officials represent the citizens who live in their districts. Americans increasingly believe there are no real choices, that there is only one party. Why is there only one party? It is not because Republicans have tried to accommodate traditionally democratic ideas (Vice President Quayle's "big tent" on abortion is belied by a string of vetoes from President Bush) but because Democrats have moved closer to Republicans in serving their common constituency.

While many progressives would agree that the two dominant parties are unresponsive to the electorate, the solutions offered are primarily structural: proportional representation, better media access for challengers, campaign finance reform, easier voter registration. A single-strategy solution usually accompanies the structural ones—reform the Democratic Party from within.

Something entirely different: It is time to go outside this framework. It is time for a new political party.

Structural changes are certainly needed, since structural barriers now enforce the stranglehold the two major parties have on the democratic process. Proportional representation would give marginal voice to views that are now not heard. (See "The First Stone," Oct. 23.) Campaign finance reform would dilute the influence of money, and improved voter registration and media access would help non-incumbents. But



c 1991 Miles DeCoster

What if we built a party and American voters came?

these changes should be made with an eye toward making it easier for a new party to gain a foothold—not as stopgaps against the formation of a new party.

Structural change alone is not the answer, because structural change would do nothing for the lack of conviction we now have in the Democratic Party. So what about the strategy of reforming the Democratic Party from within?

Arguments about reforming the party from within have a faulty premise: that it can be done. It can be done if we just try hard enough and work long enough. Well, we've tried, we've worked, and it can't be done. If Jesse Jackson's campaign in 1988 didn't teach us that lesson, nothing can teach it. The Democratic Party has a vested interest in not being reformed. The party establishment, which at its root is comprised of political professionals, is now content to share power instead of compete for it. If party leaders accept "reform," they might once more have to compete with the Republicans for power, and they don't want to do that. It is much easier to give lip service to the voters and real service to the money that drives both parties.

Impaired vision: The Democratic Party is now afraid of its own heritage. This is a crisis of ideology that runs so deep it cannot be repaired. Yes, there are camps within the party, but these camps are not attempting to reestablish a soul in the party. The conservative Democratic Leadership Conference is trying to embrace that part of the Republican ideology that can be rationalized as "moderate" in the hope that no one

will notice where it came from. The group's basic premise is that the reason Democrats can't become president is that they're not Republicans—so they should become more like Republicans.

The so-called liberal group, the Coalition for Democratic Values, is searching for progressive window dressing to a status quo message. (The group is headed by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), who voted to confirm Supreme Court Justice David Souter and publicly attacked National Organization for Women President Molly Yard when she questioned the group's snubbing of women.)

Lacking both message and vision, the Democratic Party has adopted a strategy of mirroring opinion polls and pandering to the selfish interests of the established politicians. The central question is not "What is best for the country?" but "What is the catch-phrase or gimmick that will keep incumbent Democrats in office and possibly snag the presidency, regardless of what they stand for or whether they stand for anything at all?"

While Republicans are not strangers to this thinking (witness Willie Horton and flag factories), they have convinced voters they stand for something. Most voters could even give a shorthand list if asked. Anti-abortion. No gun control. School choice. Strong defense. Less government regulation of business. The Democrats in Congress would be hard pressed to come up with a similar short list, and even harder pressed to defend such a list with their voting records.

So where would a new party come from? Many think a new party "of the left" would

be doomed from the start. These people would blame the ideology crisis in the Democratic Party on liberals, charging that if they would just go away the Democrats could become both unified and dominant. This is blaming the victim. The "left" has fragmented into a few thinkers and a myriad of single-issue interest groups, because there is no unifying entity, namely a political party that stands up for the values embodied in their collective causes.

A countervailing notion is that a new party which "unifies the left" is the only way to succeed. This is not promising, given the mindset of single-issue lobbying groups that now pass for the left. Each wants to preserve what little bit of influence it has on Capitol Hill. Since forming a new party would require them to give that up, it is doubtful such a party can be built out of the left establishment. It must grow from different soil.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) formed a commission last year to investigate a new party dedicated to the rights of women and progressive social change. After holding hearings around the country, NOW's Commission for Responsive Democracy recommended forming such a party. Though women now make up the majority of the electorate, the recommendation was not for a party "of, by, and for women" as one witness had suggested, but for a party made up of women and "other constituencies, grass-roots activists, and those fundamentally alienated from the current system."

Making politics matter: A new party is needed to address the basic concerns of average citizens. And it must come primarily from the ranks of these people, most of whom could not articulate what the "left" is—people who can't get a job, or must work two jobs, or families that can't make it with two jobholders; people who don't see the relevance of government to their lives. This group might be termed the "new silent majority." It is a vast constituency, heard from by the NOW commission and showcased in the Kettering report. Its members are people who are frustrated and disillusioned but willing to participate—if given a reason.

Recognition that a new political party is needed is not the same as the ability or strategy to build such a party. The effort will take time, and must be built both from the top down and from the bottom up. Whether NOW (or some other group) can succeed depends on many factors, but the political times are right.

Voters now feel they have a chance to be heard only on issues the corporations don't care about, and the only difference between the parties is the Republicans don't hide or rationalize this, while the Democrats do both. The feeling is that Democrats have promised (the people) and not delivered, Republicans have promised (the corporations) and delivered, and both outcomes are bad for the average American.

The 1991 elections show us that the established parties are increasingly irrelevant to the majority of voters, and they are beginning to say so out loud. The time for a new party is now.

Martha Burk is a political psychologist who heads the Center for Advancement of Policy in Washington, D.C. She was also a founding member of NOW's Commission for Responsive Democracy.

Reforming the Democratic Party from within won't work. We've tried it, and it can't be done. If Jesse Jackson's campaign in 1988 didn't teach us that lesson, nothing can. The Democrats have a vested interest in opposing reform.

By James Weinstein

MARTHA BURK'S PIECE ADVOCATING THE formation of a new third party summarizes arguments well known and long used by others on the left. There is little in her descriptions of the Republicans and Democrats with which to disagree. But there is a lot wrong with her assumptions about the American political system—and with her conclusion that forming a third party is a practical solution to the left's isolation. Indeed, her proposal would serve only to push the left further into the wilderness.

The problem is not with Burk's view of the American left as fragmented into a myriad of single-issue pressure groups, narrowly focused on their particular interests. Nor is her desire to forge a "unifying entity" for the left off base. Most people on the left, including those active in the single-issue and identity groups that Burk alludes to, would no doubt like to see the creation of a unified movement that could be an advocate for a new set of national priorities. But if we are to move in that direction, it must be in a way that will make it possible to end the fragmentation Burk rightly deplors. That can only be done in the process of developing a political movement with more to offer than correct politics and moral purity. Chasing the chimera of our own third party won't do it.

Part of the problem with Burk's argument is that it is based on the fallacy that those now least concerned with electoral politics are the ones who will take the lead in forming a new third party movement. There is nothing in the history of this country—or any other that I know of—to provide hope that this could be so. People "who don't see the relevance of government to their lives" are not likely to start a movement to gain control of government—especially if they simultaneously have to look for a job, or work two jobs in order to get by. True, such people might well support a new movement once it has a public presence. But first they would have to be given some reason to believe that this new party really does stand for something other than politics as usual. They would have to see at least some of its representatives in office, fighting for a program that would meet their needs. Mere promises of something new won't do.

More importantly, Burk writes about the Democratic Party as if it were a European-style party, and about the electoral system as if it were similar to the parliamentary systems of Europe or Japan. In such countries, political parties are private associations. Party leaders make the rules for membership and determine the nominating process for candidates. They enforce ideological standards and can—and frequently do—expel people who do not espouse the party program. In short, there is little or no room in such parties for forces opposed to the policies of the leading factions. But there is room in parliamentary systems for a diversity of parties, each representing a particular politics, competing and sometimes joining together in ruling coalitions. In such a system, a new party would make sense if—as now in the United States—a significant minority view had no existing outlet for expression.

The American way: But the political system in the United States is different from

The chimera of a third party can only create false hopes

those in Europe in one major respect. We have an institutionalized two-party system in which both parties are open by law to all who register as members. Anyone can join either party. And anyone can run for office in either party simply by gathering the small number of required nominating signatures. Candidates are chosen in primary elections that are open to all party registrants. The only limiting factor is the ability of an individual or group to win majority support in the primaries it enters. If such a group runs a candidate in the Democratic primary and wins, its nominee be-

comes the official Democratic candidate.

The right to do this did not always exist. It was won by citizens who fought against corrupt party bosses during the first two decades of this century. Before then the only way for reformers or dissidents to run for office was by organizing their own parties. That's why there were so many third parties in the late 19th and early 20th century. But while many of these parties—Greenback, Populist, Socialist or labor—were often able to elect people to local office, and occasionally to Congress, they rarely managed to elect their candidates at

a statewide or national level.

Keeping voters loyal to marginal third parties wasn't easy, even in those times. Third parties kept losing people whose short-term needs were greater than their long-term commitment to a comprehensive program or ideology. This situation led progressives of the early 1900s to begin agitating for access to the major parties through a primary election system that would be open to all comers. The result, starting in 1910 was a series of direct primary laws that led to the present system.

Another result was that the nature of third party movements changed under the new system. Since 1910, significant third party efforts—with the exception of the old Socialist Party, which collapsed in 1919—have all been ephemeral vehicles for already well-known national or regional leaders. The presidential campaigns of Sen. Robert M. LaFollete (1924), ex-Vice President Henry A. Wallace (1948) and Governor George Wallace (1968) come to mind. All significant third party movements in this century have been designed as short-term vehicles to influence the direction of either the Democrats or the Republicans. All have relied on a recognized leader who already had a substantial electoral following.

A more viable approach: The problem Burk addresses is real. The American left does need to develop its own electoral presence and its own popular constituency. *In These Times* has long argued that a popular constituency can be attained only by people on the left running in the primaries of the Democratic or Republican Parties with programs that reflect their own principles. And we have argued that this must start at the local level and should center on legislative bodies—from city councils to state legislatures to Congress—where policy matters can be debated and espoused. Some people talk about this as a party within a party. And, in fact, that is what happens all the time in both major parties, except that the left has mostly abstained from the process.

It seems clear to me that following the path outlined above is the only way to avoid the further fragmentation of the left lurking in Burk's proposal for a third party. Taking Burk at her word, the formation of a third party would exclude what is now the bulk of the left—the "myriad single-issue interest groups," whose activity consists largely of lobbying Democrats in office—while organizing a smaller part of the left into its separate space. Running candidates in Democratic primaries, however, would let the left put forward its own political agenda in a way that would allow the single-issue groups to participate, and even to enhance their leverage as lobbyists. This would encourage the building of a coherent left movement because it would not force the various existing left constituencies—African-Americans, women, the labor movement—to choose among two mutually-exclusive paths.

And, finally, working within the framework of the major parties would allow the left to benefit from the experience of the many people who share our views and are now in office on all legislative levels, mostly as Democrats. Forming a third party would force such people either to abandon office, or to be excluded from the new movement. Given the extreme paucity of people on the left who are experienced in electoral work, such a path would guarantee failure. ■

Reforming the Democratic Party is not the issue. Burk's proposal promises only to further fragment the left and to diminish the chances of creating a coherent electoral movement capable of changing our governing principles.

© 1991 Miles DeCoster

Parliament of Whores

By P.J. O'Rourke
Atlantic Monthly Press
233pp., \$19.95

By Pete Karman

IN THE GREAT AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE fantasy, Uncle Sam is a besotted and degenerate playboy who spends too much time slumming with his lessers and not enough sponsoring his betters. The way to deal with him is to relieve him of his enormous pelf by means preferably unfair, if not foul, and then unceremoniously dump him in the gutter to be teased and abused by passing urchins such as P.J. O'Rourke.

And that, more or less, is what happened to the U.S. government over the last decade. It was robbed silly by the Reagan heavies and their successor Bush lites, so that, stumbling in the streets, its pockets turned out and its brains addled, its only response is an Alfred E. Newman grin as O'Rourke waltzes around the fallen moron and castigates it as an "oozing behemoth," "a fibrous tumor," "a monster of power and expense" and "a vast rampant cuttlefish of dominion with its tentacles in every orifice of the body politic." Kick him again P.J., and see whether Uncle Sam bubbles his lips with spit or blood.

Right-thinking folk: The U.S. is the only first world country where it's patriotic, conservative and respectable to hate and undermine the state. Elsewhere in the West, the state is patril—the father who embodies, preserves and protects the family known as nation. Conservatives in other realms of Christendom tend toward fascism and draw their appeal by extolling papa state as the ultimate authority. They show their respect for him by taking care to scheme behind his back and lighten his pants pockets while he's asleep. They don't mock him in the town square as our conservatives do.

I guess we ought to be happy that much of America's rightist rhetoric smacks more of anarchism (or, really, libertarianism, which is anarchy with mutual funds and hot tubs) than of fascism. It's reassuring to hear reactionaries rail against bureaucracy and authority. It's hilarious to read O'Rourke's exemplar of how Washington's maw grows relentlessly because "like zygotes and suburban lawns, it was designed to do nothing else."

"Say," says O'Rourke, "the federal government has a program to teach self-esteem, motivation and marketable job skills to debutantes. Call it DebSelf. And say that Congress has authorized \$100 million in 1990 DebSelf funding. 1991 budgeteers would then factor in 5 percent inflation, note a 10-percent increase in the population of girls who had coming out parties in the Standard Met-



© 1991 Terry Laban

Liberal laughs, conservative guy

ropolitan Statistical Areas civilian labor force, assume a 10 percent increase in DebSelf utilization based on Census Bureau surveys of cotillion-ball activity and give DebSelf a \$125 million baseline."

It is by way of this Ozian baseline construct, O'Rourke tells us, that the unreal but all too true DebSelf program will grow to a \$10 billion monstrosity in 20 years with no increase in its budget. There are tons of good, bad, funny, scary and generally Swiftian ruminations in this, O'Rourke's latest and most popular book. An admitted burnt-out '60s rocker, dooper and chronic satirist who moved on from the seriously puerile *National Lampoon* to the rapidly pompous *Rolling Stone*, O'Rourke is on his way to becoming the Mencken of the MTV generation. He fills a gap in the public discourse that ought to be occupied by a leftist: the honorable and useful job of heaping ridicule and reprobation on the establishment, its cruelties, idiocies and pretensions.

Broad strokes: He starts out on the '88 presidential bandwagon and finds both Democrats and Republicans guilty of "mindless sports-fan behavior, rat-gagging gluttony for political office and ideology without ideas." He says that Jesse Jackson was the only candidate not only to

bring ideas to the campaign, but is the "only living American politician with a mastery of classic rhetoric. Assonance, alliteration, litotes, pleonasm, parallelism, exclamation, climax and epigram—to listen to

HUMOR

Jesse Jackson is to hear everything mankind has learned about public speaking since Demosthenes."

O'Rourke moves on to Washington, "where the winners go," to slag Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, agricultural policy (enlivened by a description of the use of "bovine marital aids" in the insemination of cattle), and foreign policy. When it comes to defense, however, he approves of the bloated Pentagon budget for reasons neither rational nor particularly comedic,

Conservative gadfly P.J. O'Rourke is well on his way to becoming the Mencken of the MTV generation.

but rather "visceral and hormonal." He apparently likes the big, boomy toys.

He sallies into the South Bronx, where he finds rough justice and a useful communitarian as opposed to governmental anti-drug initiative in the hit 'n' run raids of the Guardian Angels on crack houses. Finally, he ends up in Blatherboro, New Hampshire, the town where he now lives and whose name he has altered presumably to shield him from the fish eyes of the local yokels whose game of old-fashioned New England town meeting government he finds virtuous but witless.

O'Rourke's argument, to the extent that it's more than a set-up for yet another clod of calumny, is right-wing boilerplate. "A little government and a little luck are necessary in life," he admits, "but only a fool trusts either of them." Fine, but then he adds the pure bullshit that "conservatism is, at least in its American form, a philosophy that relies on personal responsibility and promotes personal responsibility."

"It is," he adds with what smacks of Rolling Stonish pomposity, "an ideology of individuals."

Corporate citizens: Conservatism, which in its modern American form is not much troubled by reflections upon history, culture or mor-

als, rarely gets beyond a crude defense of wealth and privilege. The individuals conservatives respect most are the bloodless ones called corporations. Accepting this, what can you make of O'Rourke's "conservative" attack on the government in favor of the "individual."

Not much.

The U.S. government is every bit as stupid, intrusive, self-serving and counter-productive as O'Rourke charges. There are basically two reasons for this. The first is the universal tendency of bureaucracies of whatever stripe to engorge themselves at the expense of their nominal function. Go into any motor vehicle department in any jurisdiction on earth and you will soon notice that the activity therein has only a fitful relationship to motor vehicles and their drivers.

The other reason that our government is so awful is that our capitalists and corporatists are so damn powerful in relation to ordinary citizens. This imbalance, along with the normal processes of bureaucracy, has created endless government institutions and programs ostensibly designed to serve the common weal, but whose main beneficiaries are not only the bureaucrats but the rich as well.

Thus it is only serendipitous that our mammoth defense budget occasionally provides us with a military victory against a suitably deficient enemy. Its main task, after all, is money not militarism. Likewise, health and welfare programs have been carefully crafted so that their benefits quickly and efficiently pass through the sick and poor on their way to the fat and smart. Here in my small, not untypical New England town, with a regional school district that has a pretty good reputation and some decent people who actually make an effort to educate kids, it doesn't take a genius to figure out that the heart of the school budget has more to do with building contracts, bond issues and administrative overhead than with the ABCs.

I agree with O'Rourke that it's too often appropriate to stuff the gaping maw of big government with bile instead of bucks. I agree it's better to do it yourself than to expect it to get done by others. Still, the fact remains that the U.S. government is the only institution charged with managing the common weal. All others, private or public, have narrower interests. Modern day American conservatism, even—or maybe especially—the libertarian, iconoclastic and brilliantly funny variant served up by P.J. O'Rourke, offers us nothing in place of the hypocrisies and venalities of governments run by the likes of George Bush but the individualism embodied in Neil Bush. The right has to do better than that. So does the left. Meanwhile, read the book. The hysterical sentences are worth the laughable sentiments. ■

Bourgeois Blues: An American Memoir
By Jake Lamar
Summit Books, 174 pp., \$19.00

By Rod McCullom

WHAT'S YOUR FAVORITE MEMORY from the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the Anita Hill affair? My favorite memory—or memories, I should say, because they are actually several examples of the same phenomena—began on the very first day that the panel reconvened to investigate the charges of sexual harassment made against Clarence Thomas. Joe Biden—the unflappable, always-smiling chairman in the natty Paul Stuart suits, who, when stressing a point of argument, had a silly habit of making geometric figures in the air with his thumb and index fingers—made a series of PR gaffes that made even the most cynical congressional critic nauseous.

"Miss Thomas," he'd say, addressing the woman who levied the charges against the Supreme Court nominee. Later: "Professor Thomas." Much later that night, he finally got it straight—"Professor Hill." (One Democratic senator, Howell Heflin, I think, actually called her "Judge Thomas" on that same Friday night.) To her credit, Anita Hill did not seem to mind these lapses very much. On the other hand, they absolutely infuriated Clarence Thomas. After Ohio's feisty liberal gadfly, Howard Metzenbaum, addressed the nominee as "Judge Hill," Thomas inhaled very deeply, made a sour face and clinched his fists in anger. He was not amused.

"Poor Clarence Thomas," my sister said to me over the telephone that weekend, after noting how her boss had told her that she looked like "that lady on TV"—Anita Hill. "Hasn't he ever heard that old joke that we all look alike?"

I'm sure he has. During his original confirmation hearings, between confusing treatises on natural law and familiar, homespun anecdotes from Pin Point, Georgia, Clarence Thomas remarked once or twice how his (murky) political allegiances have pitted him against traditional black leaders and the civil rights "establishment." He likened his fate to that of two other black neoconservatives, both, coincidentally, named Clarence or Thomas: the deceased Clarence Pendleton, Ronald Reagan's former chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, and Thomas Sowell, an economist at the Hoover Institution, a right-wing think tank at Stanford. Black conservatives—the "minority minority," in the words of one recent cover story by *The New Republic*—were now hot, and everyone, it seemed, wondered what made them tick.

Neo-con jobs: Actually, if the senators (or their aides) happened to be in any good bookstore this summer, they'd have seen any of several companion volumes to the Thomas

hearings—a number of recently released engaging and controversial memoirs written by black neo-conservatives. Each has sought to argue the case against a single black "identity" or experience, and assert that we must now allow breathing room for competing viewpoints. That's a compelling—and, in my view, correct—perspective.

The American "dream" is celebrated, hard work and traditional values are revered, most of the memoirs have described upbringings of hardship and struggle. On a more ominous note, each of these recent volumes, like Clarence Thomas himself, provide much commentary that seems scripted by the White House wordsmiths. The theory and practices of affirmative action are criticized, although all authors admit that they themselves have sometimes benefited from these measures; the civil rights "establishment" is routinely knocked, and many of the authors optimistically foresee a "color-blind" society.

The first of these books out this year—probably the best written and broadest—was *The Content of Our Character*, by Shelby Steele, an English professor at San Jose State University. Later came *Reflections of An Affirmative Action Baby*, which Clar-

ence Thomas alluded to during his original confirmation hearings. The author, Stephen Carter, is a professor at Thomas' alma mater, Yale Law.

The latest in this cycle, *Bourgeois Blues: An American Memoir*, is the first work from 30-year-old Jake Lamar, a former news writer at *Time* magazine, Harvard man, and self-styled "child of the civil rights movement." Like many other memoirs, it's more literal than analytical, full of anecdotes and personal introspection, and a combination of the personal and the political.

Lamar chronicles the frustration of growing up black in the post-civil rights generation of often being the only black face in predominantly white situations and institutions. Echoing the frustrations of many of his contemporaries, Lamar asks that, given Martin Luther King's vision of judging a man "not by the color of his skin but by the content of his character," how can one hope to do this when most people are judging him by just the opposite?

But the personal perspective Lamar offers is largely that of his father, Jake Lamar Sr. In many respects, the son is very much like father. Both are ambitious and driven, and both achieved success, albeit with varying degrees of personal

sacrifice. The elder Lamar grew up in rural poverty in Shingley, Ga., and, through sheer determination and nerve, became a businessman and a political administrator in New York under then-Mayor John Lindsay.

Father and son: The younger Lamar's childhood was more comfortable, although his father could be brutal, which precipitated his parents' divorce. While the father attended segregated schools in the South, the son went to expensive New York parochial and prep schools. Later, while away at college, Dad's money dried up, and this, in conjunction with a number of other family problems, caused friction between the two, who were incommunicado for five years. With this history in mind, it's easy to see why Lamar says that his father was the greatest influence on him. About half of the book is devoted to the interaction between the son and father, and much of the later parts of the memoir concern the author's attempts to escape his father's influence and create a separate identity.

The question of a black identity is contentious, to say the least; for example, the September 17 *Village Voice* carried a handful of lengthy essays on the topic, from a variety of vistas. Are we black, African-

American or (in the words of one activist) Africans-in-America? What is black rage—is it good, and is it necessary? How do different cultural backgrounds transcend race, such a class and privilege? Lamar's book skirts controversial topics and instead treads a banal, middle road. He ascribes much of his own identity

The recent flood of African-American neoconservative memoirs is rife with commentary that seems scripted by White House wordsmiths.

to his middle-class (he prefers the term "bourgeois") upbringing, and his parent's upward climb in life. The subtitle of his work (*An American Memoir*) reflects the author's contention that his experiences were typically American.

The personal story here is interesting, particularly Lamar's experiences in schools and corporate culture. While reading these experiences, I had many cases of déjà

Continued on next page



RACE

Clarence Thomas: Solemn pronouncements and folksy blather prove to be a winning strategy for ambitious neoconservatives.

Black neocon's prose contradictions

Continued from preceding page

the situations that the author described as a constant source of frustration—being treated rudely by merchants, seeing white women clutch their purses when he passes, constant shakedowns from police officers—are daily fare for me and other black men. There are other similarities: Lamar's Harvard days sound very much like my own time at Princeton and the University of Chicago; the characters he met at *Time* could have been my co-workers at the *Los Angeles Times*.

Here my fondness for *Bourgeois Blues* ends. Lamar's political message—or, possibly, the moral he draws from his personal experiences—is disturbingly reminiscent of the Thomas hearings. What becomes apparent is Lamar's desire to offend no one, black or white, bourgeois or whatever, which will probably offend a lot of people, mostly other blacks. In fact, the author almost categorically denies sharing any collective identity with many other blacks because of his "bourgeois" upbringing.

Typically American: "While Africa was in my genes, in traditions, attitudes, modes of expression that were known and unknown to me," says Lamar. "Africa itself was an abstraction, a place I'd never been and had only seen in books and films. America, in fact, was the only country I'd ever really known. Except for a weekend trip to Montreal when I was 13, I'd never set foot outside of the United States. ... Whether anybody liked it or not, I was about as American as one could be."

Actually, no one really disputes this last sentence—even the David Duke crowd begrudgingly agrees that blacks are "American," too (memo to DD: *thanks*). Lamar is an American. What is new and different about Lamar's whining "I'm-an-American, too" theme is that it sounds more exclusive than inclusive. Much of the new writing by other black intellectuals has taken an opposite tack. For instance, in

Lorene Cary's *Black Ice*, published earlier this spring, the author reflects on her years at a prestigious New England prep school and concludes that her early experiences and privileged upbringing make her more sensitive to cultural differences, not less.

In contrast, Lamar's insistent class distinctions buttress the old stereotypes that if you're black and middle class, you're a freak. Moreover, he describes himself as a "black, New York-bred [30-year-old] ... with a degree from the paragon of Ivy elitism and a white girlfriend"—so much for subtleties. Yet, he wonders why *Time* is eager to run a cover story on the black middle class after they were reluctant to publish a feature

ous writings, offered up in his most solemn voice.

For instance, Lamar writes that one morning, on his way to work at *Time*, he was "accosted" by a young black man who was panhandling on 57th and Seventh (near Bergdorf Goodman, of all places). The panhandler—correction, Lamar calls him a "beggar"—asked him, "Yo, black man, can you help a brother out?" Initially the author was incensed ("It was the first time I heard such a blatantly racist pitch," he wrote, perhaps momentarily forgetting Ed Koch's mayoral campaign, or the Bernard Goetz affair, or Willie Horton.)

Revulsion soon turned to compassion, and then empathy. "[He] was my exact height and build, looked about my age and had probably been born in the same town," Lamar says he thought. "Now really, what is the difference between him and me?" The difference must have been great: Lamar gave the man not one but "two quarters."

Too many questions: Lamar has trouble with whites asking him to explain or interpret other blacks (such as "Why do black people...?" questions) while ostensibly marketing themselves as "color blind." In his view, this lumps all blacks—or minorities, or women, or any other group—into one coherent mass. After a white girlfriend asks him "how does [he] feel about being black," he writes that "being black was the most important thing in my life and, at the same time, not very important to me." Lamar calls this kind of questioning "abstracting"—he feels as if he's being "turned into a symbol." He considers this to be an even greater threat than casual bias or most other forms of discriminating behavior.

To counter these worrisome "abstractions," Lamar says that he often acted to "subvert stereotypes." Again, this thinking is suggestive of the Thomas debacle, and just as worrisome. How does one act to "subvert" stereotypes? Furthermore, can this be done? Why should a per-

son have to cater to another's ungrounded fears? It's roughly analogous to Clarence Thomas saying that, as a black man, he was aware of the racial, sexual and social stereotypes that were ascribed to him, and "constantly acted in such a way to negate" those biases. In Lamar's view (and Thomas' view), the "trouble" with whites is that they often lump all blacks together, and not that they often use age-old stereotypes to deny opportunities.

Lamar as much as says so when he remarks that he'd never been a victim of "overt racism." "Sure, there'd been the suspicious glances from shopkeepers who thought I was going to rob them," he writes early in the book. "There was the stiff formality I perceived in some white adults, friends' parents, usually, who were unaccustomed to talking to black people. But these were petty annoyances." This is the height of the naivete of *Bourgeois Blues*—these petty annoyances and the much-feared "abstractions" are all derivative of the same biases.

No matter how you cut the cake, it seems that in today's society, blacks can almost never super-impose individuality over group identity. If there isn't a white person reminding you that you're the odd man out, another black might do just the same. Shelby Steele gives a perfect example of this in *The Content of Our Character*: "I have seen the same well-dressed black woman in the supermarket for more than a year now. We never speak, and we usually pretend not to see each other. But, when we turn a corner suddenly and find ourselves staring squarely into each other's eyes, her face freezes and she moves on. ... Her chilliness enforces a priority I agree with—individuality over group identity."

Lamar alludes to this philosophy when he remarks that while at Harvard he earned the wrath of black student groups because he refused to socialize exclusively with them. But the specter of Steele's well-dressed black woman and Lamar's problems with "abstractions" and group identity posit another question. Can these concepts—individuality and group identity—be mutually exclusive?

Complexion complex: Lamar's predisposition toward individuality and against group identity (a proposition that I agree with, with reservations) totally contradicts many of his superficial characterizations of blacks and whites in his book, and often approach typecasting. Amazingly, Lamar pays considerable attention to complexion and related stereotypes. The black characters that pop up throughout his book are rarely black—instead, his mother is a "high yellow gal"; an uncle has "chestnut-colored skin"; as a child, one of his playmates had "skin that made [him] think of Hershey's Kisses" (but he preferred another little girl who was a "red-haired, freckle-faced Irish girl"); the "beggar" who accosted him near Bergdorf's wore a "red baseball cap turned backwards; the

whites of his eyes were yellow"; and so on.

In contrast, Lamar rarely mentions a white person's race unless it has direct bearing on the situation. For instance, he describes for two or three paragraphs his inability to hail a cab—he only succeeded after his girlfriend intervened. A flip of the page and several paragraphs later we learn that the girlfriend is "slender and blond." Another white girlfriend has "long frizzy hair and a taste for peasant skirts and earth shoes." Another is "coltish and quick-witted." These unflattering depictions of other blacks—remember Clarence Thomas' benevolent habit of referring to his sister "on welfare"—are crude and imply a bit more than artistic license.

Confused? You're not the only one. Lamar's stereotyping and patronizing might be more a product of a "painfully suggestive, compellingly narrated" writing style (from a blurb on the book cover from Robert Coles) than intentional harm. The book, which at 174 pages can be easily read in a day or two, is written in *Time* style. Mostly, that means that it's long on narrative and dialogue (meandering, colorful quotes are frequent), serious, soul-searching questions are often posed, there are pepperings of intellectualism and the action is quick.

In other words, you often feel as if you're reading a "true confession" story. Here's an example: "Over the years, you are tossed and buffeted by chance happenings, accidental encounters, the whims of people who hold some measure of control over your life and your own ephemeral impulses and incessant yearnings, and you struggle to give some sort of shape and coherence to experience, to find evidence that between fate or God or dumb luck, and that sketchy game plan in your mind, you have been set on some correct, inevitable course." That, I think, was what the blurb on the dust jacket referred to as "painfully suggestive."

The same endorsement also applauds this book as "compellingly narrated," and I think this passage, Jake Lamar's description of his father's tall tales from Shingley, is as "compelling" narration as you'll ever see: "These self-glorifying soliloquies were, after all, nothing if not lively theater, tours de force fueled by liquor, punctuated by emphatic gesticulation and boisterous laughs, propelled by a voice that was an astonishing instrument, now booming with Old-Testament fury, now thin and mewling as it mimicked a lesser set of pipes, now steady and sonorous as it articulated a deluge of theories, convictions and prejudices in tones of unimpeachable reasonableness; it was a voice that enveloped, a voice that consumed." The Robert Coles blurb on the dust jacket also refers to "candor and a wry, sensitive intelligence"—but I think you get the idea. ■

Rod McCullom is a writer living in Chicago.

No matter how you cut it, in today's society, blacks can almost never super-impose individuality over group identity. If there isn't a white person reminding you that you're the odd man out, another black might do just the same.

on the "underclass." The majority of blacks are middle class, of course, but by insistently harping on his own bourgeois experience, Lamar often contradicts himself.

More shades of the Thomas hearings emerge: like the carefully handled nominee, Lamar's pronouncements run the gamut from arrogance to fervent—if unbelievable—compassion. Also reminiscent of Thomas, Lamar offers a number of self-serving, folksy yarns that directly contradict much of his previ-

NOTEBOOK

Just plugging along Cat-Dependent No More! Learning To Live Cat-Free in a Cat-Filled World

By "Dr." Jeff Reid

Fawcett Columbine, 134 pp., \$5.99

Editor's note: In the interest of avoiding any nasty recriminations about conflict of interests, we must mention that the person writing this squib notice of Jeff Reid's new satirical self-help book *Cat-Dependent No More* not only knows the author, he is the author. Worse still, from the standpoint of journalistic ethics, he's the editor of this editor's note as well. Yet when you take the big picture and get right down to the bottom line of wellness (or even medium-wellness), what could be more in the

self-help spirit, more truly self-helpful, than plugging one's own book? Perhaps mentioning that

he (I? We?) also did the cartoon illustrations. Did I mention that it's a perfect stocking stuffer?

Some Early Warning Signs of Cat Dependence

A weekend in Hawaii sounds great, but I don't know if I can find anyone to cat-sit.

When I first dated Mary everything was great. But my cat Sabrina bristled and I felt she was attuned to a deeper level of awareness. I broke it off with Mary.

He only humps your shoes and gnaws your laces because he likes you. He's indifferent to everyone else.

Some Later Warning Signs of Cat Dependence

I need to get a larger apartment; this place is too confining for my cat Caesar.

I don't really like to give Kittens away—they should stay with their mother and family.

I know it's a little drastic for a 15-year-old cat, but I think Sam deserves a \$40,000 liver transplant.

By Pat Aufderheide



Looks could kill: Stalin, or his stand-in Rashid?

Stand-in on history's stage

By Joel Schechter

HIS DEATH WENT ALMOST UNNOTICED in theater circles last summer, but the actor known only as Rashid deserves to be remembered here and in the Soviet Union, where he performed his greatest role four decades ago.

Rashid was Joseph Stalin's double. The actor rarely received full credit for his public appearances,

THEATER

which took place not onstage but in far more challenging settings: banquet halls, public meetings, anywhere Stalin was unable or unwilling to appear.

Stalin himself has been described as an actor and director by some of his critics, notably the Soviet historian Anton Antovov-Ovseenko, who called the "show trials" of the late '30s Stalin's theater. As "the main director" of these public displays, Stalin hid behind drapes in the courtroom and smoked a pipe while he observed "the horrible evil being carried out according to his orders."

But if Stalin directed a chamber of horrors, he let others perform the lead roles, including that of general secretary in the USSR. Rashid was the best known of several Stalin doubles. His face closely resembled that of the Soviet dictator, and he studied acting for two years with Alexi Kikii, who portrayed Stalin only on film.

No chronicle can tell the complete story of Rashid's career, because no one knows exactly when he impersonated Stalin. This lack of knowledge is one of the highest tributes history can pay to his art.

In the famous photograph of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin sitting together at Yalta, planning the post-war division of Europe, is it Stalin or Rashid who charms his companions?

With his doubles, Stalin was able to approach the omnipresence Orwell attributed to his Stalin double, Big Brother. When Stalin was dying at a dacha, not Rashid but another double took his place, according to the Soviet newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna*. For all we know, these simulations kept Stalin alive weeks longer than doctors could. (A.J. Liebling noted in 1953 that Stalin, "inconsiderate to the last," "had the bad taste to die in installments," forcing restless American jour-

If Bush and Gorbachov don't employ doubles, it's only because they're already copies.

nalists "to start explaining the significance of his death before he had actually died.")

These days it is not unusual to speak of the "politics of image," and judge statesmen by their acting abilities rather than their political programs. Rashid was ahead of his time; or, with Stalin, he was ushering in the politics of our time. If George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachov do not employ doubles today, it is only because they have become copies of themselves, as they try to live up to the media images manufactured for them by a highly inventive press corps and personal media advisers.

When I was in Moscow last summer, a friend showed me a phonograph record that features one of Stalin's speeches. His speeches were frequently released on plastic disks, but this was no ordinary reading. I could not help wondering if Rashid, rather than Stalin, was the recording artist.

The session begins with a very brief introduction—an anonymous voice says, "Now, Comrade Stalin will speak"—followed by a full side of applause. Stalin speaks on the other side of the disk. Rashid often found himself in a similar situation, where an audience would applaud his appearance or his name without any further prompting. (The audience might have been rehearsed ahead of time; American political conventions have been known to employ similar group acting methods.)

In a world where mere appearance won a huge ovation, Rashid must have performed his role without difficulty; perhaps no one dared not applaud, or accept as authentic the statements of this actor. It must have been strange for him to know he could make no mistake—unless, of course, Stalin himself secretly watched the performance and criticized it later. A puff of smoke behind the drapes might have signaled Rashid's last appearance. But he lived to the age of 93, far longer than Stalin, and died almost unnoticed last June in the Soviet city of Krasnodar. The age of Stalinism is over, perhaps. Fewer statues and portraits of Stalin can be found each month in the USSR; his doubles are also disappearing. But the politics of simulacra live on. □

© 1991 Joel Schechter
Joel Schechter is editor of *Theater magazine*.

Cable takes the glory

Public television's reputation took a pratfall in July when the Markle Foundation took back a promised \$5 million grant for election coverage. PBS had not managed even to get stations to agree to carry coverage. Now the embarrassment is compounded: Cable News Network will use \$3.5 million of Markle's money to produce innovative campaign coverage throughout 1992, both to run on CNN and to be distributed in schools. Public TV has a unique educational and public service role, but highly visible competition makes it harder to see. Meanwhile, public television continues to expand its well-hidden but well-respected instructional services; new technology just multiplied PBS' offerings to its stations, which serve schools across the nation.

All things commercial

Public radio, like public television, doesn't have commercials. It has "underwriting"—once a stripped-down statement of gratitude for support and, increasingly, a full-blown sales pitch. Now National Public Radio, producer of *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition*, is openly admitting that what sounds like a commercial probably is one—at least when it talks to potential advertisers. NPR has developed a rate structure that sets a price per time-slot, just like commercial networks do (the price goes up if you get to position the ad yourself). And it hypes its value by calculating cost against similar audiences on commercial radio. The new rates and sales pitches come from a board directive to find new sources of cash, reports trade newspaper *Current*.

Disney for grown-ups

Disney's new animated movie *Beauty and the Beast* is pitched as much to yuppie parents as the kids, says the *New York Times*, as the related marketing reveals. "Collectibles" are selling at \$75 and up, and the movie's video is seen on older-wiser music video channel VH-1. And then there are Disney-published books for fans of the well-read heroine and the animation art that made her possible. Disney may single-handedly be recuperating the reputation of cross-marketing synergy among the infocorps.

Turning on the light

Does General Electric, nuclear and military hardware manufacturer as well as owner of NBC since the mid-'80s, influence the news? Well, NBC did just happen to leave GE's name out of an investigative piece on defective military parts (the producers updated the story once word leaked out), and an upbeat documentary on nuclear power in France did air.

But it's been hard to find an insider who would verify suspicion. Now here comes Larry Grossman, once head of NBC News, who was squeezed out with the help of Tom Brokaw under the GE regime. In the latest *Columbia Journalism Review*, Grossman recalls a phone call from GE Chairman Jack Welch the day after the Oct. 19, 1987, stock market plunge. "He thought our pieces were undercutting the public's confidence in the market," Grossman reports, "which would certainly not help the stock of NBC's new parent company. ... He thought NBC's reporters should refrain from using depressing terms like 'Black Monday.'" The message Grossman draws from the story is that cross-ownership and vertical integration (the medium controlling the content about it) are unhealthy for the First Amendment. Grossman went on to deliver the message in a speech and to reporters, each time elaborating further on GE's meddling.

To no one's surprise, Tom Brokaw doesn't see the problem at all. The real news in the "Black Monday" story, he told *Electronic Media*, was, "We didn't shade the news or buckle," even though Grossman had shared Welch's phone call with him. Jack Welch wasn't talking to anybody.

Seeing is believing

Video news releases—press releases that conveniently offer instantly-televisable promotional footage—have been widely used in recent years by everyone from the king of Morocco to car-makers and sports organizations. The ethical issues—where's the objectivity when the reporter uses the source's images?—are often dealt with by giving on-screen credit to the source. But a recent study at the University of Georgia shows that viewers don't notice the source of the video. Furthermore, they don't seem very bothered about it once told. Apparently, a picture is worth more than words, even when they're superimposed on the picture. □

© 1991 Pat Aufderheide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

ENVIRONMENTAL LABOR ORGANIZER: The National Toxics Campaign and the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union are seeking a community or labor organizer with minimum 2 years experience. Writing and communication skills required. Knowledge of environmental and/or labor issues necessary. Salary commensurate with experience. Send resume and writing sample to: NTC OCAW, 8841 Bluebonnet Blvd., Suite C, Baton Rouge, LA 70810.

CISPES is hiring fundraisers and organizers for full-time, salaried positions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York and Washington. Health benefits and 4 weeks vacation. Fundraising and Central America experience helpful. Starting date: January 1992. Affirmative action employer. Resume and writing samples to: Job Search, c/o CISPES, P.O. Box 12156, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 265-0890.

ORGANIZER OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR needed for coalition working on federal budget priorities. Commitment to progressive change; written verbal communication; typing and computer skills. Salary high teens low twenties; benefits. EOE. Cover letter resume by Dec. 31 to: Coalition for New Priorities, 1020 S. Wabash, #304, Chicago, IL 60605.

PUBLICATIONS

QUEERS! Gay Community News—For nearly two decades, GCN has been a national forum for lesbian and gay life

What's happening in NICARAGUA? **Barricada Internacional**, English edition, monthly FSLN news magazine. Sample free! \$35/year; \$18/6 mo. Barricada USA-I, PO Box 410150 SF, CA 94141

BECOME AN IN THESE TIMES SUSTAINER

Our Sustainers actively support IN THESE TIMES by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new Sustainers receive two (free) six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their IN THESE TIMES subscription free of charge. For information on enrollment, contact:

Kevin O'Donnell
ITT
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

CLASSIFIEDS

and liberation. GCN provides the kind of probing, insightful news, analysis and entertainment coverage that makes it "the source for up-to-date weekly coverage of lesbian and gay politics and culture nationwide." (Richard Burns, Director, New York Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center). With articles ranging from queers in the military to television's first gay cartoon kiss, there's always something for everyone, every week! 1 year, \$39; 6 months, \$25; or for a sample copy, send \$2 (to cover shipping and handling) to: GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX: TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. API is an invaluable tool for your study of social change. 250 alternative & radical publications indexed. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe. \$125 institutions, \$30 individuals. Write Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218 for more information.

1991-92 DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE & RADICAL PUBLICATIONS. Over 350 periodicals listed, \$4.00. Write: Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218.

SOCIALIST BIWEEKLY. Since 1891. \$1 for 4 months. *The People* (ITT). P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

The CENTER FOR RESOURCEFUL BUILDING TECHNOLOGY (CRBT) has available

its newly-published *Guide to Resource-Efficient Building Elements* (GREBE). This unique guide lists over 100 manufacturers of building products such as wallboard made from gypsum and recycled newsprint, tiles made from waste glass, engineered wood I-joists and beams, hardboard made from straw, and fiber-cement siding and roofing. GREBE is now available for \$20. For more information, call or write the Center for Resourceful Building Technology, P.O. Box 3413, Missoula, MT 59806, (406) 549-7678. CRBT also offers educational lectures, slide shows, videos and handbooks to interested builders, architects, organizations and laypeople.

BOOKS

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK" - Available again! \$22, postpaid. Barricade Books, Box 1401-J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

EROTICA & CURIOSA. Fine and rare materials bought and sold. Catalog, \$2.00. C. Scheiner, 275 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11226.

CLARENCE DARROW's wisdom and secular philosophy in three incomparable, newly reprinted booklets. A must for those who want to know the depth of the heart and mind of the fearless libertarian lawyer and eloquent iconoclast who "stood for the weak and the poor." SET, \$5.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

SHACKLES OF DOGMA AND AUTHORITY. Powerful treatise on establishment tyranny. Acclaimed by Pulitzer Prize columnist. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

THOMAS PAINE—AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by Joseph Lewis, late President of the Thomas Paine Foundation. Reprint of engrossing 1965 speech, presenting highly plausible, astonishing evidence linking Paine with the authorship of the original draft of our nation's birth certificate. Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON DEMOCRACY, RELIGION, EDUCATION, SCIENCE. Vital condensation of the most profound libertarian thoughts of the "ideologist of American democracy." Paper, \$4.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

CALENDARS

WORK FOR PEACE EVERY DAY: 1991 Peace Action Appointment Calendar and Diary. Each day lists three activities to promote peace and justice. \$10.72 (in-

cludes postage and handling). Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 25, Dept. T, North Manchester, IN 46962.

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB, 1992 wall calendar, \$7.95 ppd. Great gift idea! Nebraskans for Peace, 129 N. Tenth St., Suite 426B, Lincoln, NE 68508, (402) 475-4620.

PERSONALS

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 200 Union Blvd., Suite 430-A, Lakewood, CO 80228.

SINGLES SHARING VALUES on peace, ecology, spirituality, personal growth connect AT THE GATE. Free details. Box 09506-ITT, Columbus, OH 43209.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible left singles concerned about peace, justice, racism, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLOTHING

"FOUR YEARS OF THIS BUSHIT IS ENOUGH!" T-Shirts (c.) J. Lussier 1991. White, Red, Blue, S, M, L, XL. Send \$12.00 per shirt. J. Lussier, P.O. Box 453, North Amherst, MA 01059. Wholesale inquiries welcome.

Ready for an alternative?

Just clip this ad and return it with your name and address and we'll start you off with a **FREE 4-week trial sub** to the **GUARDIAN** with no obligation to continue.

Give us a try.

You won't be disappointed!

GUARDIAN Subscription Services
24 West 25th St. Box-ITT
New York, NY 10010-2704

For prompt service call: 1-800-877-5448

JEWISH CURRENTS December 1991 Issue

"Madrid: After Years of Hatred, They Talk," editorial; "Gorbachev Blasts Anti-Semitism at Babi Yar," full text; Yom Kippur Reflections by Aaron Kramer; "Roza Robota and the Auschwitz Uprising," Isak Arbus.

Single issue: \$2 plus 75¢ postage.
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 Street
New York, NY 10003

Fresh, Natural Dates

Organically grown by UFW members



2 lbs @ \$10 • 4 lbs @ \$16
From Pato's Dates
Dept. IT/60-499 Hwy. 86
Thermal CA 92274

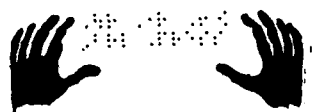
Progressive freelance
photographers and
graphic artists needed

Impact Visuals
28 West 27 Street, Suite 901,
New York, NY 10001 USA
212-683-9688

NUDIST VIDEOS FAMILY NATURISM

\$3 for color catalog:
NAT-FAM (ITT), Box 838,
Venice, CA 90294

The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from IN THESE TIMES are included in **FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL (FI)**, a quarterly review of minority and independent Left publications, produced by the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc. 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804

100% RECYCLED PAPER!



The Perfect Gift!

Our **HOME PACK** contains:
375 napkins 50 envelopes
200 facial tissues 8 rolls toilet paper
50 sheets writing/ 4 rolls paper towels
typing paper 1 note pad
Only \$24.95 (+ \$4 shipping & handling)
FREE CATALOG 800-323-2811
VISA/MC accepted

Atlantic
Recycled
Paper Co.

P.O. Box 39096 • Baltimore, MD 21212

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force!

We're the *only* national newsweekly offering the variety of readers you won't find anywhere else. It's the inexpensive way to promote your product, service or organization.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues
65¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch / 20 or more issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Complete the coupon below and enclose it along with your ad copy and payment to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days prior to the Wednesday cover date.

FREETHOUGHT versus RELIGION

The Atheist Challenge
By Carl Shapiro



The first, last, and definitive word on the

UNTENABILITY OF THEISM

FREETHOUGHT versus RELIGION
The Atheist Challenge
by Carl Shapiro

paper \$8.00 ppd. (USA).

Independent Publications
Box 102
Ridgefield, New Jersey 07657

Dear ITT Ideologist,

If you've been reading the *Wall Street Journal*, you'll know that, in contrast to some others in the country, my family is doing very well indeed. My brothers profitably represent important people in Asia with interests in electronics and extortion. My sons seem to have an uncanny knack for making money in Colorado banking, Florida real estate, Texas sports and Persian Gulf oil deals even when their ventures go bad. They're all obviously chips off the old block. But you wouldn't get that impression from checking my media clips. Some people out there are actually saying that we Bushes, particularly me, don't have a clue when it comes to this economy thing. Not even buying those sweat socks at Penney's the other day seems to have dimmed that impression. And neither do these irksome statistics about lost jobs, belly-up banks and drooping business. How can I better convey our family's success to the people so that, in these what I'm told are somewhat harder times, they can emulate me and make all of America as successful as my family?

G. Bush

Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bush,

Gotcha, big guy. Know where you're coming from. I saw the *Journal* piece, and figure that, for all its carping tone, you must be pleased as punch about George Jr., gaining some recognition for landing that nice oil deal in Bahrain. And don't let them embarrass you for putting in a good word in the right places for your own son. That's what dads are for. Hey, big fella, the problem is the usual one—that you're ahead of the pack and they're too busy nipping at your heels to see where they're going. We both know that the game today is spelled multinational. Borders are for lace doilies. Flags are for T-shirts. Look at Europe. Look at the Soviets, or whatever they're calling themselves this week. The world is restructuring, consolidating, market-orienting, down-sizing, getting lean and mean.

A lot of Americans just aren't picking up the ball yet. All they want to do is whine about losing their jobs and missing their house and car notes. How many notes did your boy Neil and his partners miss at Silverado? Did they let it get them down? You know, these Americans will drive over to the mall to buy a Game Boy or a team jacket. But do you see them hustling off to Bahrain or Bangladesh to take advantage of the new opportunities in this world? No one to blame but themselves.

Of course, in your line of work you can't plain out tell them that. They want to hear that their jobs, their houses, their living standards, their country are something special. So, you've got to make multinational patriotic. You've got to associate yourself with something that's both foreign yet as American as apple pie. My advice: Dump either Quayle or Barbara and get Victor Borge by your side.

P.S. Give me a ring. I'm into something good on real estate opportunities in Minsk (gonna be the new capital) that you might want to look at for your private account.



Dear ITT Ideologist,

I'm a confused conservative. It was as easy as Ollie to be right-wing back in Reagan's time. But now, with Bush and Buchanan fixing to Duke it out, this hardliner doesn't know where to hew. What do you say?

Noah Nutting

Whigtown, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Nutting,

Conservatism is a constant ideal and a never quite perfect reality: a few rich people in charge and lots of poor people in thrall. It's how you make the trip back to that goal and what sorts of companions you want to travel with.

As you can see from the letter above, Mr. Bush is my type of conservative. Corporate, clubby, chummy. He knows it's just business, and not worth getting so steamed about all this vision stuff. Life, along with the Beefeater and the white bread, is something to put on the tab down at the town market. Now your Buchanan, by contrast, has visions. There are the inspirations of the somber, saintly Franco and the mischievous but misunderstood Mussolini to offer strength and guidance. There's the shrewdness of Nixon to inform strategy. There's a dream of America in which Jews, blacks and other wogs will finally be taught the lessons they missed by not going to parochial school. He's your man if you lean toward clerical fascism leavened with Gaelic wit. He won't send our soldiers to Saudi Arabia, but he just might send them to Belfast. Finally, I wouldn't put too much stock in David Duke. It seems to me that he's the sort of George Wallace-type who, should he grow dangerously beyond his britches, will meet up with the usual demented loner.

Dear ITT Ideologist,

I have a spiritual question. Madonna's video blasphemy and crotch-clinching has been better received than my video vandalism and crotch-clinching. Is this a sign that America is losing its religious values? And what should I try next?

M. Jackson

Los Angeles, CA

Dear Mr. Jackson,

Beat it, kid.

Dear ITT Ideologist,

If America is now the only superpower, why are foreigners still doing what they want to do instead of what we want them to do?

H. Kissinger

New York, NY

Dear Mr. Kissinger,

Do you mean that we don't want the Chechen Ingush to fight with the North Ossetians?

Dear ITT Ideologist,

What does Michael Kinsley mean when he says "from the left" when signing off on *Crossfire*?

Ted Turner

Atlanta, GA

Dear Mr. Turner,

He wants people to think that he's got a London tailor. ■